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A WINTARIO PROJECT

"LIVING & GROWING IN CANADA"

A CHINESE CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE HELD IN TORONTO

NOVEMBER 10, 11, 1979

AND

REPORTS & COMMENTARIES

COUNCIL OF CHINESE CANADIANS IN ONTARIO

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COUNCIL OF CHINESE CANADIANS IN ONTARIO

OBJECTIVES

1. To promote understanding and appreciation of the roles and responsibilities of Chinese Canadians;

2. To foster communication among Chinese Canadians;

3. To provide for and to encourage the exchange of information among provincial organizations of Chinese Canadians;

4. To promote communication and understanding with other ethnocultural groups;

5. To act as a voice for Chinese Canadians in Ontario in matters of common concern.

This is the relief on the back of a Chinese bronze mirror dating back some 400 years B.C. in Chinese history. In Chinese mythology this mirror symbolizes the human spirit. The mirror not only reflects human images but also retains them. It becomes a living entity capable of growth and it assumes an identity of its own in the process.

The Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario has adopted the mythological Chinese mirror as its logo in that it views itself as reflecting the aspirations and hopes of the Chinese Community in Ontario. Similarly, like the mirror, the Council derives its strength and moral purpose from the community which it represents.

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Editors: Irene Chu, C. K. Fong, Jew May seung

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Editors' Note:

We regret the following compilation of presentations made at the *"Living and Growing in Canada" A Chinese Canadian Perspective* conference is incomplete. Omissions were unavoidable because written copies existed for only some of the presentations. In addition, sections have been deleted for the sake of brevity. The editors hope their decisions are judicious and that this text fulfills their goal of offering its readers a documentation which is faithful to the events and spirit of the November, 1979 conference.

Copies of this book and cassette tape recordings of the entire conference are available from the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario, P.O. Box 451, Station "O", Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4A 2P1.

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FOREWORD

The changes in the Chinese Canadian community in Ontario might not have been as apparent as they have been real; none the less, they have been happening — happening constantly — with vigour and vitality. Progress, accompanied by growth, has accelerated at an unprecedented pace in the recent decade, adding vibrance and zest to our Canadian Multicultural reality.

Often, in the past, we looked back at our history, examined ourselves in the Canadian context, but went on keeping to ourselves — an isolated minority. With this conference, we turned to look ahead to the future, with determination to face new challenges, to assume higher responsibilities and to make known to all: we are here to stay and to make good our share of contribution towards the mainstream of Canadian society.

We put together an exciting programme for the November 10 — 11, 1979 Provincial Conference at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto. We called upon our youths for their visions; we called upon our elders for their dreams. We called for unity; we called for action. Above all, we pointed in the direction of an indestructible future.

Irene Chu
April, 1980

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS
Peter Tsang

On behalf of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario, I welcome you. We are happy to see that you have taken the time to come, to talk about issues that are important to the Chinese Canadian community. To those delegates and guests from outside Toronto, we wish you a pleasant stay. If there's anything that we may do to make your stay more comfortable, please let us know.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who have worked hard to make this conference possible. But among this group of people, it's only fair to recognize the outstanding efforts of two very special people, who in the past six months or so, have been extremely dedicated to the preparation of this conference. They are: Mr. Khim Tan and Mrs. Irene Chu...(Applause)...Khim, Irene, Thank you very much.

I would also like to take this opportunity to draw your attention to two of the Council's more important goals.

First, we want to join hands with all Canadians of Chinese descent, regardless of their place of origin, so we may speak as a collective voice for Chinese Canadians in matters of common concern, and for the betterment of all Canadians, regardless of their heritage.

Secondly, we intend to become more politically involved — involved in the sense that we will encourage participation in the various riding associations and elections of the three levels of Canadian Government. We intend to observe and analyse very closely the views and issues represented by any candidate. We intend to become more vocal in our endorsement of candidates who espouse positions which we find to be sensitive to our needs and aspirations.

While this involvement is a departure from the path that some other Chinese Canadian organizations have travelled in the past, the Council feels that it is a natural evolution of our living and growing in Canada. We are Canadians first and foremost and should partake in everything the Canadian society has to offer and in the process give something of ourselves as well.

I thank you for sharing your time with us for the next two days in trying to communicate and understand one another better.

INTRODUCTION I
Donna Wong

'LIVING AND GROWING IN CANADA' A CHINESE CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

This conference is essentially a follow-up to our first conference, 'Effective Citizenship in Canada's Multicultural Society' A Chinese Perspective,' which was held on April 8 and 9, 1978 at the Hotel Toronto. The previous conference was the first concentrated effort made by our community to define its role and identity and to assess its needs and concerns within the context of Canada's multicultural society. The scope of topics discussed and the issues raised at the conference were enormous. It promoted a greater understanding and awareness of where the community was in terms of its appropriate role in Canada's emerging society. Given the interest and the response generated at the conference, the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario felt the need to carry this dialogue further. The concerns and issues identified at the conference were such that we felt the need to focus on them in greater detail and to place a discussion within a social action context and we hope that this year it will generate a resolution which can be used as a basis of reference for social service organizations in government and voluntary sectors emitting identified needs and concerns. In this regard, our program this year is more narrow and focused but not selective in its emphasis. Our theme today is, 'Living and Growing in Canada' A Chinese Canadian Perspective. Chinese Canadians constitute an important and significant ethnocultural community in Ontario. They include of those of us who were born here and those who have come from various parts of the world. It can be maintained that the Chinese community is a microcosm of the wider community, reflecting its complexity and diversity. The identification and resolution of our programmes will be widely shared by the total community. Needless to say, this conference is intended for all Chinese Canadians living in Ontario; however, it is not an ethnocultural exercise, for the implication of the issues and concerns extend beyond the boundaries of a single community. The process of integration and development is one that effects all communities and the issues and concerns involved have a distinct commonality which unites us all, be it Chinese, East Indian, West Indian, or others. We see the conference as an intercultural exercise, a form of exchange for the interaction among all Canadians. Many present today are representatives of the host society: community leaders, civil servants, and educators. And we hope that this conference will provide an opportunity for those to learn about the Chinese Canadians as we go through the process of transition and growth in the changing pluralistic society that is Canada. For the Chinese Canadians, this conference is an affirmation of the need to be integrated; to share our culture and concerns with a wider com-

munity. Such an endeavour can only reap positive benefits for the total community. It is important for all of us to ensure the future is one in which there's a place for a goal, regardless of race, colour, creed, or religion. Let me take this opportunity to thank the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation and the Federal Department of the Secretary of State for their financial support and assistance. Without their help this conference would not have been possible. And our thanks to all of you who have lent a hand.

OPENING ADDRESS

The Hon. Roy McMurtry
Attorney General, Ontario

Mr. Chairperson, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, friends: I am very honoured to participate in the opening of this very important conference. I have read your agenda with interest and I certainly would like to congratulate those who brought together such a very excellent programme.

I was very interested in the opening address of the president in as much as he indicated the encouragement that the Council is to lend to the concept of political involvement. While in the context of that message, I might be very tempted to bring a political commercial or two; however, I shall restrain from so doing appreciating as I do this is a non-partisan event. In that context, I have to recall, my first attempt to political office was in a riding where there was a significant Chinese Canadian electorate. The fact I lost that particular election, I can assure you, in no way diminishes my enthusiasm for your community. Indeed, it gave me an opportunity to meet many of the citizens of Chinese origin and that experience itself, I felt, made the exercise very worthwhile, not withstanding the result. In so far as the message of encouragement for political involvement is concerned, I would like to stress that, of course I have my own preference as to the particular party to encourage you to participate in; quite apart from that, whatever political party you choose to participate in, this involvement is important.

I have only been in the political arena full time for four years. I have to say the decision to leave a comfortable and productive law practice, particularly when one has six children, was not an easy decision. I have long been aware of the traditional skepticism that the average person has about politics, politicians and political process. Quite frankly, one of the reasons that I entered politics was that I had become very concerned about the depth and level of skepticism which had become quite cynical. Feeling as I did then and feeling as I do now, if this cynicism were allow to grow, it would not only be damaging to the political process itself but very damaging to a free democratic society because, obviously, our democratic institution depends to a large extent on a healthy and viable political process. Therefore, I enthusiastically endorse your remarks about the importance of involvement. Certainly, if we Canadians were to face the many challenges in the years to come, this involvement on the part of every citizen is absolutely essential to the future prosperity and strength of our country.

We in Ontario are proud of our rich multicultural mosaic and seek to foster it and promote it in a number of ways including the support of programmes such as this conference. I do because I believe that all, and I stress all, of our citizens benefit greatly from the

many cultural dimensions of our community. We believe our citizens who do represent many different origins will be better citizens, will make a greater contribution to community as a whole if they do have knowledge, if they do have a real pride in their own origin. Again, we believe we shall all be better citizens if we truly appreciate these very special cultural contributions that have been made and are being made by our citizens from so many lands.

I would like to take this opportunity to bring you personal greetings of our premier contained in a letter to your president as follows:

'I am pleased and honoured to have this opportunity to extend through my good friend and colleague, Roy McMurtry, my warmest greetings to you, to your fellow members of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario, and to those who have gathered in Toronto to participate in your two-day conference "Living and Growing in Canada" A Chinese Canadian Perspective.

'The future of our country rests in the realization by all Canadians that our cultural diversity is one of our greatest strengths and that if we successfully cope with the many attended sensitivities and challenges of our unique multicultural population and heritage, we will achieve our destiny as a nation: UNITY WITHIN DIVERSITY.

'In presenting the Chinese Canadian perspective on "Living and Growing in Canada" your 1979 conference will be of tremendous significance to our people of Chinese ancestry and to society as a whole. For it brings together many distinguished panelists whose wisdom and experience and constructive opinions will do much to define and resolve the concerns of our Chinese community and its youth; encourage their advancement in social, economic and political spheres of Canada; and provide deeper insight into the very real and meaningful role they play in Canadian life and our increasingly ethnocultural society.

'The government of Ontario is pleased to have been of assistance in the planning of this conference. To all of you, on behalf of my colleagues and the people of our province, may I extend my heartfelt congratulations, for your conclusions will provide valuable guidelines for a very important segment of our population.

Sincerely, Bill Davis.'

And on that note, madam chairperson, may I personally wish you all a very successful conference. Thank you very much.

ON BEING A CHINESE CANADIAN
Keynote Speech by K.C. Tan

Madam Chairperson, President Tsang, Minister McMurtry, Fellow Chinese and Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It would have been a perfect arrangement if Professor Paul Lin had been able to address you. In addition to his eloquence, Professor Lin's Canadian birth and longer years in this country make him eminently more qualified than most, if not all, of us to speak on the subject of 'Growth and Living in Canada,' which is the theme of this conference. It is Irene Chu's charm and skillful persuasion which make me forget all my inadequacies to come and contribute what little I can on the question of being a Chinese Canadian.

To begin with, I want to congratulate the Council for adopting the term 'Chinese Canadian' and not the term 'Canadian Chinese.' Putting the emphasis on the word 'Canadian' and using the word 'Chinese' to distinguish us from the many other groups of Canadians, is to me a very positive and forward-looking attitude. The term 'Canadian Chinese' may perhaps help to set us apart from the rest of the 1,000 million or so Chinese all over the world, but it does not provide us with any basis for a meaningful relationship with our 23 million fellow Canadians, with whom we are in daily contact.

As Chinese Canadians, we have made a commitment, individually and collectively, to live alongside other Canadians, many of whom are like ourselves, immigrants from another land. We are committed to share with these fellow countrymen our destiny in this land of hope, and together to make contributions to ensure that this is forever the True North strong and free.

The National Citizens' Coalition and their advisor do not want to see this kind of sharing and cooperation. They adopt scare tactics to undermine this healthy relationship. They advance the reactionary notion that China is the natural homeland of the ethnic Chinese, a notion which completely ignores the inherent immigrant nature of our society and, if carried to its logical conclusion, will lead to the disappearance of the Canadian state. For if China is the natural homeland of the Chinese, then England must be the natural homeland of the English, Scotland, the Scottish, Ireland, the Irish, France, the French, Germany, the Germans, Italy, the Italians, etc., etc. I would have sympathized with this kind of argument, although I would still have considered it outdated, if it had come from the native people. But voiced by some who are clearly of immigrant descent, I see this as a deliberate attempt to poison the minds of decent Canadians.

Helen Hutchinson of CTV's W5 program is equally malicious. She is afraid that our younger generation may make positive contributions to this country, so she resorts to the incitement of public

anger to exclude them from their rightful place in Canadian universities.

I am sure that if Howling Helen learns that my younger son has successfully led the largest group of students in his class to support Joe Clark in the May elections, she would scream that Canadian public school students are being pushed out of positions of political leadership by a foreigner.

Ladies and Gentlemen, since the National Citizens' Coalition and Helen Hutchinson obviously refuse to see human history as it is, let me remind them that from the beginning of time, but particularly in the last two hundred years, the recurrent historical theme has been the continuous migration of people, both regionally and from continent to continent. Not only whole communities, but also individuals, with or without their families, have been involved in this incessant flow across natural and man-made frontiers. The resulting picture, either at the global or national scale, is one of confusion and inter-mixing. Some of the people 'who ought to be here' have gone, some of the people 'who ought not to be here' have come, and there is no pattern pertaining to who are coming or going.

Fellow Chinese and Friends, the mention of our high degree of residential mobility is not to make the case for a transient society. On the contrary, as I will argue later, we need to establish our roots whenever and wherever possible. My point is simply that we are no longer living in a traditional rural society where we know of no place other than that of our birth, which is also the arena of our childhood, adolescence, maturity and old age, as well as the site of our grave. In the modern society, it is easier to establish our roots whenever and wherever we like, and moving on to greener pastures is also a relatively simple matter. Therefore we should not be so much concerned with where a person was born, or how long he has lived here, but with whether he has made a commitment here, and how much contribution he is able to make while here.

This is of course a question of rights and obligations, and my assumption is that given his full rights, a person will be very pleased to fulfill all his obligations.

On paper now, we are made up of landed immigrants and Canadian citizens, both groups sharing equal rights with people of other communities possessing the same status. But do we enjoy de facto equality? Are we being taken as a bona fide Canadian group? Do we have a rightful place in the Canadian society?

Ladies and Gentlemen, as the National Citizens' Coalition and Helen Hutchinson have been trying to tell us, the answers to these questions are an emphatic 'No!' Dinah Cheng, President of the University of Toronto Chinese Students Association, and her fellow students across the country are naturally shocked and

angered by the blatant racism demonstrated in our mass media. But I will relate to you a personal incident to show you that, unconsciously held even by people of goodwill, prejudice and ignorance about us are very deeply rooted indeed.

The time: one evening not too long ago; the wrinkles on my face and my thinning and greying hair had revealed the loss of my youth. The place: my home in Guelph; the house was in a single family neighbourhood, not the most prosperous area but nevertheless the residents did not feel the need to rent to students and to any other group. I answered the door. A gentlemen a little older than I was identified himself as a member of a particular missionary group. He tried to hand me some church literature. In spite of my formative years in two missionary schools with daily recitation of the Lord's Prayer, I had not been converted and was not about to be so. But I remained polite to the visitor, telling him that I really had too much to read. The man gave me an approving smile and, as he shook my hand in farewell, said, 'Of course as a foreign student you need to work very hard.'

Perhaps you have not had the fortune of being mistaken for a person much younger than you are. But surely there must have been occasions when your newly-arrived neighbour, with Canadian residence probably shorter than yours, in all innocence asking your wife how many more years before she returned to her 'own country.' You must also have occasion to face your children home from school, with tears in their eyes, complaining that once again Bobby and Ronnie had insisted that Chinese could only play the part of Indian, although this time it was clearly their turn to be Cowboys. Some of you might even have had a chance to listen to university officials arguing the need, in spite of financial stringency, to expand French, Italian and German language programmes for students who come from such language groups. Yet in the same breath, these highly educated educators proposed the closing down of the Chinese language programme on the grounds that it attracted too many Chinese students, whose job in the university was to study more 'Canadian subjects.'

Fellow Canadians and Friends, racism is obviously rampant in Canadian society, and we need to muster all the positive forces to fight it. In this regard I am impressed by the battles waged so far against the National Citizens' Coalition for publishing their statements on the Boat People, and against CTV for airing Helen Hutchinson's W5 programme, Campus Giveaway. I am particularly gladdened by the large number of non-Chinese church leaders, educational administrators and student leaders who have taken a common stand with us. But while we fight our battles very hard and quite successfully, I am saddened by an obvious lack of discussion and appropriate action among fellow Chinese, relating to issues not directly and immediately affecting our own community.

Fellow Canadians and Friends, involving ourselves with issues of more concern to our fraternal minority groups is not just a matter of providing mutual support and widening our front. Prejudices may be deeper between some groups than between others; and we know that in Canada, as in all other societies where racism exists, minority groups are divided into different levels of being disliked. I speak with some consolation that the Chinese Canadian is not the object of the most serious abuse. But racism remains racism unless and until it is totally wiped out, just as a rapist has to be put away whatever his preference for women. For when your wife or daughter happens to be the only woman around, chances are that his preference at that moment no longer matters.

I therefore urge fellow Chinese to fight racial inequality and injustice wherever they occur. Not to do so because some racist happens to dislike us less than the guy next to us is not only false security, it is also political opportunism of the worst kind. And by practising it, we may fall into the trap of divide and conquer.

As we involve ourselves in a wider campaign against racism, I see one positive contribution we can make to that campaign. I refer here to the Chinese experience in the last 70 years of struggle in making ourselves more respected by our enemies. We have achieved this status not by knowing or reviving images of our inglorious past for the entertainment of curious bystanders or for the appeasement of our enemies, but by hard struggle based on the principle that our action is reasonable, that it is beneficial to us, and that it is correct and appropriate for the occasion. Perhaps by working closely with our fraternal groups, we can share this experience with them.

Another reason why we are treated with a little more respect than others is that people generally, whether in Canada or elsewhere, tend to take us as a peace-loving community and treat us with goodwill. Of course, we respond with goodwill and mutual relations are improved that way. However, people with ulterior motives, whenever necessary, like to emphasize another aspect of this peacefulness. They say the Chinese do not want to interfere in the affairs of others, and do not want others to interfere in their own affairs. When this is meant to imply that the Chinese abstain from national politics, I begin to feel uneasy. For I see this as a policy of divide and rule, a policy which, coupled with other factors such as the special roles assigned to Chinese communities, has created among the Chinese a psychology of 'building a shelter under someone else's fence.' One manifestation of this psychology is a hesitation to identify politically and socio-culturally with the local non-Chinese communities, thus providing those with ulterior motives a good opportunity to insinuate that the Chinese are fifth columnists of China. As an immigrant from Southeast Asia, I am particularly aware of the harmful consequences this psychology has

brought to the Chinese communities there. Even the country that professes to adhere to the principle of equality between different ethnic groups, treats us no better than animals, using our plight as a vehicle of international policy in Southeast Asia.

Fellow Chinese Canadians, let us learn from the bitter experience of the Southeast Asian Chinese. Let us convince ourselves and others that we are the rightful residents of this country and are determined to take our roots here. And, as we make a conscious effort to establish a clear identity for ourselves, let us also define our relationship with China with more clarity. I suggest to those of you who wish to play an active part in the political life of China, including the provice of Taiwan, to choose Chinese nationality and call themselves Canadian overseas Chinese, while they maintain residence here. For those of us who find it more meaningful to carry out political and socio-cultural interaction with neighbours in our daily life, let us unequivocally call ourselves Canadians and boldly get involved in every aspect of the national life of Canada, pulling all our weight for the creation of a fair and rightful place for us alongside other Canadians.

With the defeat of radicalism and the reintroduction of clear-cut policies pertaining to overseas Chinese and foreigners of Chinese descent, the Beijing government has made it easier for us to define our relationship with China. But I realize that for most of us drawing the line between overseas Chinese and Chinese Canadian is still a very difficult task, even impossible in some cases because of the equally deep commitment to both China and Canada. It is easier for the Scottish, the French, the Ukrainians, etc. to do so than for us. For one thing, these groups are never asked when they are going home. They are not expected to have an identity problem anyway. Who has ever publicly expressed doubts about the loyalty of a Jewish Canadian, even when he openly promotes Zionism? Therefore, it may seem unfair and unnecessary to expect us alone to divide ourselves into two sub-groups. However, to be truthful, ruling groups rather prefer that we don't do this exercise. Once we know who we are, where we belong, it becomes difficult to manipulate attacks against us.

The difficulty involved in this decision comes mainly from the high esteem China holds in our hearts. Wherever we were in the last 30 years, the fact that China stood up as an independent country assuming her rightful place among the states of the world, improved our status. China's attempts at development and modernization, both in order to improve the livelihood of her own people and to make further contributions to mankind, have also fired our imagination and our longing to live, work, and learn alongside the 970 million Chinese.

But let us not confuse the desire to give to and receive from the

Chinese people with the way this should be done — either as a Canadian internationalist who has no concern in the internal politics of China, or as a Chinese national whose voice in China's affairs is guaranteed under a Chinese constitution.

I do not think anybody has the right to object to the respect we have for China, and the closest links for mutual benefit we want to forge between Canada and China. Indeed, it is these links which form the basis of diplomatic relationships and wider understanding and cooperation between our two peoples.

Defining our relationships with China is a positive step because it helps us to concentrate our efforts on the promotion of our respective interests, as overseas Chinese or Chinese Canadians. Recognition of who we are and where we belong should also facilitate resolution of some of the problems affecting our internal unity. If the Chinese Canadian community is not at the same time the overseas Chinese community, then the internal politics of China does not deserve a place here. For too long the internal struggles in China have been fostered and duplicated in Chinese communities everywhere. Of course, I am referring to the conflicts between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang, and the division of China along the Straits of Taiwan. It is not too difficult to understand the severity of the struggle, and the reason why practically all of us have been directly or indirectly involved in the past. Each of us may still hold some strong views as to how the matter should be resolved. But we now have to tell ourselves that this is a matter external to Canada, and as a Canadian minority group fighting to establish our own identity and status, we cannot afford to let it stand in the way of our unity.

In this regard, I wish to express in the strongest possible terms my opposition to Chinese Canadian groups, waving either the five-star red flag of the People's Republic of China, or the blue skies, white sun and scarlet earth flag of the Republic of China, in blind imitation of other groups at multicultural gatherings. This is a divisive action not only because it introduces the politics of Chinese confrontation into our midst, but also because it ignores the origins of many other Chinese Canadians who have no direct ties with China. If we accept the argument that the latter groups should form their own organizations and wave their own 'national' flags, then we are going to see a fragmentation of our already miniscule ranks. In any case, what is the meaning of waving other people's national flags, when we are gathering as Canadians celebrating a uniquely Canadian occasion?

Let me dwell on the question of the many sub-groups of Chinese Canadians for a moment. Those from Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, and increasingly Vietnam perhaps together constitute the largest sub-group outside those

from China, Hongkong and Macao. But there are many too, from India, East and South Africa, and last but not least, the West Indies. Many of these fellow Chinese do not speak or write Chinese. Because of their long history of association with non-Chinese, they are quite comfortable in a cosmopolitan environment. But many have suffered injustices and unfair treatment in their countries of origin because they happened to be ethnic Chinese. Some perhaps may not want to be reminded of these tragedies and therefore choose not to have any association with Chinese for the time being. Others may be anxiously looking for association, identifying themselves with Chinese and helping to promote the general interests of Chinese.

As we define our relationship with China, which understandably is a very sensitive issue for these fellow Chinese, we should be able to attract many of them into our midst. I am happy to note from you, Madam Chairperson, and from President Tsang that you are actively seeking out these fellow Chinese and uniting with them. And just as we want non-Chinese to treat us with equality and understanding, we should also treat these fellow Chinese the same way. There cannot be two different standards between others and ourselves.

I feel that there is a constant need to keep reminding ourselves of this principle, for there is still a great deal of ignorance and prejudice between ourselves. Often I get so annoyed when fellow Chinese from Taiwan show such astonishment when they find that I, too, can speak proper Putonghua, or when fellow Chinese from Hongkong respond to me with a barrage of machine gun Cantonese, after I have told them that I speak Chinese.

We need to educate ourselves about ourselves, as much as we need to educate other Canadians about ourselves. This brings me to the question of Chinese newspapers published here in Toronto. For a community of our size, to be able to sustain more than half a dozen daily newspapers is a real achievement. Yet a closer examination of these reveals pitifully little coverage of the Chinese Canadian community, unless you include the page after page of advertisements of stores and restaurants in Chinatown. Instead, we have stories of romance between Hongkong movie stars, progress in the 'motherland,' the terror of the 'bandit regime,' and such like. We know these newspapers do not take a Canadian perspective, but surely we can pressure them into producing some reports about us, their readers.

Fellow Chinese and Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen, we obviously need a strong group of dedicated men and women in Ontario and the whole of Canada, to provide leadership to do all of the work I have outlined here. I was, therefore, very excited last year by the founding of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario, and the holding of the first conference. I hope the successful holding of this

second meeting will clear away many of the obstacles faced by the first Board.

But the creation of an organization and the holding of discussions represent only the first steps of creating a strong voice and an effective tool to promote our interests.

Pertaining to the work of the Council, allow me to share with you another view of mine. In the multi-racial society of Malaysia in the 1950's, in an attempt to receive political power peacefully, the Malays, Chinese and Indians devised a system of cooperation at the polls by designating spheres of influence for their respective communal party organizations. The success of the system provided a basis for communal bargaining and political power sharing which has been the hallmark of Malaysian politics in the last quarter century. The Malaysian Chinese Association, the only national Chinese organization at the time, represented the Chinese in the electoral allliance. But soon the alliance became one between political power holders in each community, and the three national communal organizations continued to emphasize the need for such 'communal' power sharing. They even occasionally created crisis situations to demonstrate this need.

Unable and unwilling to promote the interests of the Chinese community as a whole, the Malaysian Chinese Association steadily lost the general support of the Chinese electorate. But it desperately clings to the facade of a national Chinese organization and, with the assistance of the Malay leaders who constitute the main ruling class, remains a partner in the racial alliance. The image of a viable and lasting communal cooperation is thus preserved.

During these first years of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario, it is necessary to keep it informed about the experience of Chinese communities elsewhere. The opportunities for co-option of our leaders by the establishment, as in the case in Malaysia, are always present. In principle, I am not opposed to our fellow Chinese working with provincial and federal political leaders. Indeed, we should strive to send them more Ying Hopes and Douglas Lees, and I see many people of such calibre among us. But our representatives should always be reminded that they owe their position of leadership to the community as a whole. Therefore, the interests of the community should take precedence over their personal interests.

Before I finish, I would like to express one worry I have about our community. I refer to one of the obvious gaps in our community, namely the apparent cleavage between those who are here today and those who are not. Those of us present, as far as I can gather, are mostly professional men and women. We are people who have successfully adjusted to Canadian ways and Canadian values, in the course of establishing ourselves. Whether the community as a

whole achieves what it sets out to achieve or not, does not make much difference to us individually. Because we have the time, the energy, the knowledge and the means to help our children to do well in school, they are successful; and in turn they help to keep up the image of Chinese diligence, single-mindedness, and intelligence. We also have the means for the whole family to engage in Chinese culture; each week we drive to Chinatown and sample a different Chinese regional cuisine.

Yet, as we meet in this beautiful hotel, one of the best known in Canada and the British Commonwealth, as we deliberate on the various ways of obtaining more rights, on how to get involved in national politics, there are many more of our fellow Chinese who are absent today. The timing of the conference may not be convenient for them; they may not be able to afford the registration fee; they may feel uneasy coming to such a place like this; or they simply do not want to associate with us, for all the good reasons in the world. I am, of course, referring to the many waiters and cooks who work in the restaurants in Chinatown, the grocery storekeepers and their assistants, the textile workers, and last but not least, the numerous families running Chinese and Canadian eating places in the small towns all over the province. I am sure that these people add up to many times more than the number who are here.

These are the fellow Chinese whose conditions most urgently need improvement. For illiterate in the English language, uneducated about their rights and privileges as Canadian residents and citizens, ignorant of the school system in which their children are being taught, and unorganized in any political, economic and social way, these fellow Chinese are stuck in Chinatown, increasingly becoming ghettoized.

These are the people who, anticipating a future need for political protection by China, continuously act like overseas Chinese in spite of their Canadian citizen status.

Although I have no specific recommendations, I urge the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario to face the reality of the situation within our community, and to consider these fellow Chinese as your main constituents and involve them in the work of the Council, so that they can play a direct part in improving their own lot.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the organizers of the conference for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts with you. I realize that because he is so used to life in the ivory tower, however hard he tries, a professor will still make mistakes in the world of real people. I cannot be an exception. I know, for example, that because of my limited contacts with fellow Chinese, I am unavoidably ignorant about the many-faceted question of how to maintain our Chineseness in the face of the forces of assimilation.

But you can be sure that whatever errors and omissions I have committed in my speech, they have been made with honesty. Now perhaps you will return my honesty with your honest criticism. Of course, I welcome criticism in either English or Chinese. Thank you!

INTRODUCTION II
Dr. Gordon Chong

Yesterday, the President of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario stood on this platform and enunciated a couple of our aims — aims which I endorse. In order for history not to repeat itself, we must create a vision. Not only must we create this vision, we must nurture it. I envision a Chinese Canadian sitting in the President's seat at the University of Toronto and a Chinese Canadian sitting in the Premier's office and a Chinese Canadian in the Prime Minister's office in Ottawa! Impossible you say! Not really — nothing is impossible if you want it badly enough and are willing to pay the price. But what is the price that we must pay? We have to move beyond the narrow confines of our comfortable little niche within the Chinese community. We must strike out into the unfamiliar and perhaps uncomfortable — at first — mainstream of Canadian Society and listen to the pulse of the greater community out there — we must listen acutely to events and to people — people who are frequently characterized as the man (woman) on the street and people who are leaders.

We are fortunate in having one of those leaders with us this morning.

Our speaker to-day is the Director of Education for the City of Toronto, Mr. Duncan Green.

LIVING AND GROWING IN CANADA

Duncan Green

I must say that I feel out of place and very presumptuous this morning. The theme of your conference is 'Living and Growing in Canada'; I can speak about that. 'A Chinese Canadian Perspective' — I cannot speak about that at all. I was born in this city and with one very short absence during World War II have spent all of my life here. My grandparents emigrated from Scotland at the turn of the century with young families and that Scottish heritage remained an important part of my grandparents' lives and of my parents' lives a little less important part and I really do not have much interest in it at all.

Poor though they were, they arrived in a country dominated by people of Anglo-Saxon descent and felt a little more at home than many others who came to this country. They spoke English — or rather Scottish (my grandmother's accent grew more and more pronounced the longer she lived here and at the age of ninety-two was more Scottish than Canadian) — and as a result felt that they 'belonged' in a way that others might not have felt.

As I grew up in this city, it was assumed that the British Empire would ensure forever, that all who were not of Anglo-Saxon background would strive to appear that way, and that this English language would become the international tongue (eventually, perhaps, even flooding out French). For any not of that descent, we were granting a great favour in permitting them to share in our Canadian winters.

As a child — indeed until I finished high school — I knew no one of Chinese descent except for two groups. One group of men operated the White Hand Laundry just around the corner from where I lived, Bloor/Windermere. Another group ran a restaurant on Bloor Street West. I knew that there was a place in the centre of the city we called Chinatown — very mysterious and hidden — and wherever Chinese operated any business, there was always the hint of mysterious hidden rooms where exotic activities went on. I knew nothing of immigration or immigration policies in 1938, nothing of the problems that Chinese men had in bringing a family to join them. No wonder I saw few children and few women. We were, of course, constantly reminded as children during those hard years of the depression, that if we did not finish what was on our plates at meals, we were incredibly more fortunate than 'the starving children in China.' That remained our single impression of the disastrous, famine-ridden years in that country during the '30's and '40's and even through the '50's.

With such an incredibly thin, biased, ignorant experience, how can I presume to speak to the Chinese Canadian perspective? I can, however, speak to Living and Growing in Canada and I wonder if I could, for a moment, ask you to look at my experience in this country. It is marked by an incredible change! Immigration by peoples of different races and languages has literally changed the complexion of this city.

The Chinese Canadian population of this city has grown from just over 2,000 in 1941 to 90,000 in 1976. With these numbers has come increased visibility — witness the street signs, the developments along Dundas and Spadina, and increased awareness on the part of others in the population. We are now aware that all Chinese do not have a common background — that they may come from mainland China, from Hong Kong, from Taiwan, from Korea, from Viet Nam. We are aware that there are as many distinctions among those who speak Chinese as there are among those who speak English. Equally, we are aware that they can be a powerful political force, especially given a tendency to live close to one another, and those concentrations of populations can develop a considerable political clout. Your very presence in increased numbers has forced us to re-examine traditional attitudes. It is not just of the Chinese.

Anything there is that is 'forced' can cause resentment, and many of you will not have been immune from that. A lot of people think that no one group should live together in 'ghettoes,' should be responsible for maintaining their own languages and printing their own newspapers, preferably underground, should not celebrate too visibly their own holidays or make much of their 'exotic' religions or beliefs.

For many of us, however, that re-examination has led us to try to put more flesh on the bones of what we have been prone to call the 'cultural mosaic.' We have observed the American 'melting pot' experience and have noted that it has not produced a smooth, even mixture like a cream soup, but rather a stew in which chunks of cultural heritage remain very prominent and often had the potential for friction and animosity. Canadian policies recently have encouraged different groups to maintain their cultural heritages — support for language preservation classes, cultural activities and festivals has been forthcoming. In our own province, and in our own city, support has been provided for Heritage Language classes and the extension of languages taught for credit in secondary schools.

The following statistics may be of interest to you:

24 languages are being taught under the Heritage language programme,

55 classes are being taught in Cantonese,

3 classes are being taught in Mandarin,

76 students are studying the Chinese languages for credit in regular day school,

2 general interest courses in Cantonese (mainly conversational) are offered with an enrolment of about 20 students each,

4 night school courses are offered at Harbord Collegiate in Grade 11 and 12 in Cantonese,

1 combined grade class is studying Mandarin.

It is interesting to note that about 10% of the student population in our Heritage Language Programmes is composed of students for whom the language offered is not their native language.

Our goal in this activity has been often expressed but perhaps it would be helpful to review our main reasons or rather, perhaps, my main reasons for supporting this thrust.

1. A concern that families be able to communicate with one another without friction. We found frequently that students were at odds with their parents about whether to retain and improve a natural language ability when they wished wholeheartedly to embrace what they saw as an 'English' culture.

2. An educational system should be able to build on the potential that students bring to it. If a speaking knowledge of another language is a part of that, we should assist in its development.

3. An understanding that different languages have produced significant and important writers and artists who have much to contribute to the understanding of mankind.

4. A feeling that in Canada, which has been so often regarded among the nations of the world as a bridge to understanding, that sense of being a bridge can be strengthened by a recognition of the different language and cultural groups.

Our course is a rather bold one. Given the scattered nature of our population and the extent of our country, many see this kind of development as threatening to our national unity, elements that would fragment the country rather than unite it. Given the developments in the Province of Quebec, this sense of apprehension is increased.

I do not share those views. I feel that we are making an honest effort in this country to establish a new set of relationships that recognizes the need to accommodate a wide variety of cultures and, yes, languages, with respect and dignity so that the sense of worth that is so important to everyone can be firmly established.

The focus of your conference is on youth and, for my part and in my job, I find that very appropriate — and it is, indeed, the only reason that I felt that I could appear before you. Perhaps you would like to

hear what some of our youth — new to this country and of Chinese background — have to say. The following three passages are from a book of writings prepared in one of our schools by New Canadian teenagers. It is entitled 'Thoughts for the Future.' From it I have chosen three passages which contain ideas that I would like, briefly, to expand upon.

'I never think of my future at all. I just want to get higher marks in examinations. In Hong Kong, my high school had a career association which helped the graduated students to find jobs or told them what they could do after graduation. I didn't like this club because I didn't think it could help students much. At that time, I was only in grade eight and I didn't dream of my future. Maybe I am not mature yet. Perhaps there will be a World War III. Then we won't have to work anymore. I don't "dare" to think of the future, for I am afraid that if I put the goal too high and I fail to reach it, then I will be sad and feel very angry and frustrated.

I live by the proverb: "Let God decide it." '

'Although I may have a chance to go back to Hong Kong to live, I will never do so. I have decided to start my new life in this brand new country and have my children receive Canada's education. In the future, maybe five or ten years from now, I will get married and have my children who will become Chinese Canadians. Many elder Chinese people do not like the 'Chinese Canadians' because their mother tongue is not Chinese but English, and possibly some of them do not know Chinese at all. Our elders cannot tolerate this, nor can my parents. They do not want my children to be 'dumb' Chinese. I would like my children to still remember their mother tongue, and I will teach them both languages: English and Chinese.'

'Canada is full of freedom and happiness. It does not have the heavy pressure of political problems. In Hong Kong we do not really have a country. It does not belong to China, nor is it part of Britain. I am lucky for now I have a country. I am sure I will live here forever and let my children be good Canadians. I will teach them to have a strong sense of duty to their country, Canada. But I will not let them speak only English. I will teach them Chinese too because, in fact, they are still Chinese. It is shameful if a person is Chinese but doesn't know Chinese.'

I would like, this morning, to leave you with three thoughts that emerge for me from these passages.

1. Two of the passages refer to 'Canadian education' and 'good Canadians.' I think it is logical that individuals new to a country should assume that that country has a clear identity and a sense of focus and purpose. I am not sure that is true of our country. As long as I have been pondering the question, I have been aware of the lack of clarity about it. Books such as 'In Search of a Canadian

Identity' written by a former Governor-General have been frequent in our history. Indeed, we are not unlike Hong Kong as it was described in the last passage quoted. I could say — although it would be exaggerated — 'In Canada we do not really have a country. It does not belong to the United States, nor is it part of Britain or France.' We are now, more than ever in my lifetime, trying to establish that Canadian identity and we are doing it by trying to create structures of government and institutions which will reflect its extreme diversity and its vast distances. We are emphasizing differences. We can only do that by working together and by seeking to understand one another and respect one another more than ever before.

Whether we shall succeed in that goal or not, is as much up to you as it is to me. We have put the goal high. In the first passage, a teenager expressed what so many of us feel but are often afraid to say — 'I don't dare to think of the future, for I am afraid that if I put the goal too high and I fail to reach it, then I will be sad and feel angry and frustrated.' In my view, we have no choice; we have put the goal high and must work toward it.

2. To do this, we must avoid what Northrop Frye — one of Canada's most profound thinkers — has called the 'garrison mentality.' In his book of essays, 'The Bush Garden,' he has described the Canadian imaginative view of their experience as follows:

'...Small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological 'frontier,' separated from one another and from their American and British cultural sources: communities that provide all that their members have in the way of distinctively human values, and that are compelled to feel a great respect for the law and order that holds them together, yet confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing, and formidable physical setting — such communities are bound to develop what we may provisionally call a garrison mentality.

'...A garrison is a closely knit and beleagured society, and its moral and social values are questionable. In a perilous enterprise one does not discuss causes or motives: one is either a fighter or a deserter.

'...(Such societies) are always tense and tight groups engaged in war, rescue, martyrdom, or crisis, and the moral values expressed are simply those of that group. In such a society, the terror is not for the common enemy. .... The real terror comes when the individual feels himself becoming an individual, pulling away from the group, losing the sense of driving power that the group gives him, aware of a conflict within himself far subtler than the struggle of morality against evil. It is much easier to multiply garrisons, and when that happens, something anti-cultural comes into Canadian life, a dominating herd-mind in which nothing original can grow. The intensity of the sectarian divisiveness in Canadian towns, both

religious and political, is an example: what such groups represent, of course, vis-a-vis one another, is "two solitudes," the death of communication and dialogue. Separatism, whether English or French, is culturally the most sterile of all creeds.'

It is this mentality that I fear when I hear people talk simplistically about the 'Chinese vote' or the 'Greek vote' — the temptation on the part of groups themselves and of others outside those groups to see them as tightly knit, closed societies — somehow detached from the whole, retreating into their 'garrisons' or 'ghettoes.' This danger is particularly acute when language groups — especially if they have distinguishing physical characteristics — live in concentrations. Please do not consider that I am suggesting that people of like language should not live close to one another so that they can derive support and understanding from one another and more sensibly provide for their unique needs. They need to do that. Under such circumstances, however, I feel that such groups must make a real effort to reach out to the larger society around them — composed of many like groups perhaps — especially in the city and ensure that they are in constant touch. They must ensure that they are represented in the political institutions and in the social institutions that grapple with the problems of society as a whole, and through that representation learn to see issues not just in terms of their effect upon their own 'garrison' but in terms of their effect on the society as a whole that is to become Canada.

3. This, then, brings me to my final point and I shall borrow from the last passage quoted above to begin —

'I am lucky for now I have a country. I am sure I will live here forever and let my children be good Canadians. I will teach them to have a strong sense of duty to their country, Canada. But I will not let them speak only English. I will teach them Chinese too because, in fact they are still Chinese. It is shameful if a person is Chinese but doesn't know Chinese.'

I think that the writer has put things in the right order. In our city and province the main language in which our institutions function is English. Locally, we have endeavoured to make communication easier by providing translation services and by printing considerable material in other languages — Chinese certainly among them. I think, however, that for 'living and growing in Canada,' and here I speak to the youth — a knowledge of one of the two official languages — French or English — is a necessary medium to establish those many bridges that relieve the 'garrison mentality' and enable people to preserve traditions and culture while building a strong society. In our own city, English has been the main medium for that and will, I suspect, remain so. Particularly for youth, then, I think that the young people who wrote the passages above have things in the right order.

A cultural tradition and the opportunity to continue that cultural tradition in the Chinese language is one that I envy you for and am glad that we are assisting in the opportunities that nourish it . A knowledge of English and/or French will be of incredible assistance to the development of our country. If I may borrow from the announcement for this conference with a slight amendment —

'By fostering unity and harmony among ourselves as Canadians, and because our communities are but microcosms of the greater Canadian society, we are certain that the whole of Canada will benefit from our endeavour.'

Panel 1 MOTHER TONGUE MAINTENANCE

Moderator: Dr. Peter Poon, President,
Chinese Canadian Education Association of Toronto.

Panelists: Dr. Jim Cummins, Associate Professor,
Modern Language Centre,
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto

Ms. Wendy Wright, Assistant Coordinator,
Heritage Language Programme and English as a Second Language

Mrs. Dorothy Chin, Lead Instructor,
Heritage Language Programme.

Ms. Marguerite Ho, Principal,
Ottawa Chinese Language School.

Representative from Waterloo Chinese Cultural Centre Language School.

Saturday, November 10, 1979 10:30 a.m. — 12:30 p.m.
Sunday, November 11, 1979 10:30 a.m. — noon

HERITAGE LANGUAGE PROGRAMME
by Dorothy Chin

There are three aims for the Chinese Heritage Language Programme. Firstly, the program is to provide the students with the opportunity to maintain or develop facility in Chinese to enable them, on the one hand, to understand, and speak Chinese in order to communicate with their parents or grandparents and, on the other hand, to read and write Chinese at a level appropriate to their individual stage of development. Secondly, it is to provide students with an introduction to, and for an involvement in, the Chinese culture to enable them to examine and understand the way of life of the people of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan; to take part in family activities and examine the similarities and differences of family life in Canadian culture and Chinese culture, and to bridge the gap that has sometimes existed between the family life rooted in Chinese culture and the culture of the school system. Thirdly, the programme is to help the students to develop confidence and a sense of self-identity. This learning opportunity enables the students to maintain pride in the Canadian and Chinese cultural traditions, to recognize the value of both English and Chinese languages, to understand the contribution made to Canadian society by people of various cultural backgrounds in general and the Chinese group in particular.

In order to achieve the aims indicated, we have to offer a balanced programme involving the four communication skills (i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing). Cultural curriculum such as Chinese folk songs, folk dances, legends, festivals, folk tales, biographies of famous Chinese philosophers, educators, politicians, poets, etc., brush writing, and arts and crafts should also be incorporated into the curriculum used in the Chinese Heritage Language Programme. Besides, trips to the zoo, community centres, libraries, museum, etc., were found to have validity with respect to teaching the Heritage Language Programme. In order to enrich the programme as well as increase community involvement we also invited concerned professionals, such as musicians, educators, and artists to visit our classes.

The Chinese Heritage Language Programme at Ogden Public School where I have been teaching is an integrated programme. Every child in each class receives 30 minutes of instruction every day.

The total number of enrolment of the Chinese Heritage Language Programme at Ogden School is 146 among which 39% of the enrolment are Canadian-born Chinese, 8.2% are Chinese born outside North America, and both of these groups of children had no previous instruction in Chinese prior to taking the Chinese

Heritage Language Programme in January, 1978. 26.7% are Chinese with one or two years of previous instruction in Chinese before they came to Canada. 8.2% are Chinese with three or four years of previous instruction in Chinese and 2% are Chinese with five or six years of previous instruction in Chinese before they immigrated to Canada. Other than these, 15.7% are non-Chinese students.

So you can see that within each class there are students with different backgrounds. Because of the heterogeneous nature of students, it is necessary to provide different levels and groupings within each class. We, therefore, have to group the pupils according to their proficiency in Chinese in the initial phase of the programme. Oral, reading and writing skills were used as criteria in structuring groups, but age was also important. As a result, we very often, have to teach three groups of different levels of students in one class.

Due to the variation of levels in the class, lesson planning and teaching must be very critical in order to conduct a smooth and efficient class. Here are some of the methodologies used in the classrooms.

We prepared different levels of curriculum and related activities for various levels. For instance, there are three groups (A, B, and C) in the class. Before I started teaching group A, I would have assigned seat work or other activities related culturally to the program or the lesson taught on the previous day to the students in groups B and C. This form of teaching was being conducted on a rotary basis which could free the teacher to have an oral lesson with just one of the groups.

Another method which we often employed is to use a movie or film to stimulate discussion with the whole class involved. For example, when I am intending to teach a lesson related to winter, snow, winter sports, etc., I show the children a film called, 'Winter Comes to the Forest.' After the film has been shown, all levels of groups will be involved during the general oral discussion period concerning the film. Every child will be encouraged to express freely and possibly in Chinese; if not, I will provide him/her with Chinese vocabularies, sentence fragments or complete sentences whenever necessary. Then, the students will be assigned to various activities prepared according to the class composition.

On the whole, a comparative approach is taken during the process of teaching and the teaching methodologies used are very much similar and related to those used in the day school programme so that the children will not feel that they have to learn about everything anew in the Heritage Language Programme.

Panel 2 I AM A CANADIAN

Moderator: Mr. Gary Hoy, Lawyer.

Panelists: Dr. Bert Wing-King,
South African Chinese Canadian.

Mr. Hubert Lue,
Jamaican Chinese Canadian,
President,
Caribbean Chinese Association.

Mr. Gary Yee,
Law Student from Hong Kong.

Mrs. Rebecca Li,
Taiwan and Brazilian background

Mr. Wes Lore,
Canadian-born,
Managing Editor,
Toronto Real Estate Newspaper.

Saturday, November 10, 1979 10:30 a.m. — 12:30 p.m.
Sunday, November 11, 1979 10:30 a.m. — noon

Panel 8 THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Moderator: Dr. S.L. Kong, Professor,
Faculty of Education,
University of Toronto.

Panelists: Professor Peter H. Hennessy,
Professional Studies,
Queen's University,
'The School System Under Stress.'

Mr. George Imai, National President,
Canadian Japanese Citizens' Association,
'School and the Minority.'

Dr. Morley Lem, Dentist,
'Private School as an Alternative.'

Mr. Jason Wong, Supervisor,
Department of History,
Board of Education, Hamilton,
'School and its Effects on the Individual.'

Saturday, November 10, 1979	2:00 p.m. — 4:00 p.m.
Sunday, November 11, 1979	1:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.

PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE COST OF EDUCATION

Prof. P.H. Hennessy

It should be said at the outset that the Ontario system of education is not being starved by the government (as some persons claim). Using total expenditures per pupil in the ten provinces of Canada as a basis, we find that in 1976 Ontario was still spending more on education than any other province. And that was still true after five or six years of reduced expenditures by Ontario. What has happened in this province is that the government has given a higher priority to other services than to education with the result that the rate of increase of expenditures for education throughout the seventies has been slower than in all the other provinces. It is really quite astonishing in the light of this, that Ontario is still spending as much or more per pupil as all the others. One needs to remember that Ontario started the seventies with a super-rich system and that most of the other provinces gave education slightly higher priority throughout the seventies than Ontario did.

With a province earnestly trying to keep education costs under control and with a school system that is still one of the best in the world in terms of class size, the qualifications of the teachers, the quality of the buildings, equipment, curriculum and teaching materials, — given all this — why are so many people vaguely disappointed, frustrated or downright bitter about our system of public education? The answer is complicated and multi-faceted and nearly every part of the answer comes out in terms of dollars and cents.

First, there is the current widespread view that spending a lot of money does not necessarily make better education. We have evidence to support that notion. There is the massive James S. Coleman study in the late 1960's in the U.S.A. which cast doubt on a lot of expensive programmes in that country to achieve equal educational opportunity for the poor and the disadvantaged minorities. There is Paul Copperman's claim in his book, *The Literary Hoax*, that there has been a continuing decline in verbal and mathematical achievement scores in the U.S. since 1965 among pupils in the senior elementary secondary grades. This has to be judged against other evidence that students nowadays are better in certain respects than they used to be. Here in Canada, the Canadian Education Association took a poll last spring and discovered that 40% of us think that standards of education have worsened; 68% of us wouldn't want to serve on a board of education and 50% say that citizens do not have enough say in education. *Weekend Magazine* conducted one of their reader polls in 1978 and found that 50% of Canadians believe that teachers are less dedicated than they used to be. Ontario government statistics for 1978 indicate that private school attendance in Ontario has jumped

by 45% since 1971 at the same time as total school enrolment fell by 4%.

Those facts are indicators of widespread public discontent with the school system. We can put up with a measure of dissatisfaction with a service if the price is right, i.e., if there is a sense that we are getting what we are paying for. But that is not how it is. There is, on the other hand, a sense that we are being 'fleeced.' This is mainly because the cost figures are so wildly out of line with common sense expectations. For instance, we have known about falling enrolments in the schools all through the seventies. Now let us consider a few changes in percentage terms for 1975 to 1977 in Ontario. The enrolment in the elementary schools fell by 4.3% and that in the secondary schools rose by 1.4%. Such an enrolment picture during the first two years of the anti-inflation machinery set up by Trudeau and the provinces, would lead one to expect that the size of the teaching force would fall slightly and that costs would stabilize. In actual fact, the teaching force increased from 93,000 to 96,000, a rise of 3.2%. Fair enough. The high schools were still growing and high schools have more small classes in special situations requiring more teachers. Also, there was continued inflation, despite the Anti-Inflation Board, of about 15% over those two years. So we could expect the total cost of teachers' salaries and benefits to increase by approximately 20%. The cost of teachers' salaries and benefits actually increased by 40.2%! The cost of instructional supplies increased by roughly the same amount as the inflation, i.e., 16.7%, while the cost of educational services increased by only 10.6%. In other words, the total personal renumeration bill of the teachers was increasing at least twice as fast as the inflation rate, and, apparently, at the expense of the educational services of the system which include psychology services, special testing services related to mental and physical health, home instruction, correspondence courses, schools for the blind and deaf and others. Why weren't the anti-inflation controls effective in respect to the over-all cost of salaries and benefits for teachers? For a variety of reasons: the number of expensive high school teachers was rising while the number of less expensive elementary teachers was stable or falling; the percentage of high school teachers at the top end of the scale, in terms of qualifications and experience, was rising faster than those at the bottom end; the benefits packages were not subject to anti-inflation control; the automatic increments of the teachers were not included in the calculation of the percentage rise for purposes of anti-inflation board review.

From this little analysis of costs over two recent years, we have

learned one reason why the education bill climbs even as the school system shrinks. The system of pay and benefits for the teachers actually costs a lot more than is indicated by the modest salary boosts that the teachers achieve at the bargaining table. And when the salary and benefits bill constitutes about two-thirds of the total education bill, we have a better insight into the frustrating fact of costs rising much more rapidly than inflation in a school system that should be costing less, because it's smaller. The other main reason why the citizen sees himself being victimized by the cost of education is the policy of the provincial government of shifting a higher proportion of the cost to the property tax bill at the local level. This has been going on for four years now. With a grant system based on enrolment, the government is able to save grant money whenever and wherever the enrolment drops. Not only that, but the government has reduced the rate at which they pay grants, based on the average cost per pupil. In my own county, Frontenac, provincial grants to the public school system since 1977 have declined by 8% (in constant dollars) while the enrolment in the schools actually fell by less than 1%.

All this put together means that property taxes in support of education are rising faster than the public's tolerance.

In the search for reasons for this maddening paradox, citizens are frequently naming these three at least: 1. the provincial government is shifting the burden of cost (unfairly in the perception of many) more and more onto the property tax; 2. the county board system has failed to bring about economies of scale and; 3. the system of collective bargaining by which the salaries, benefits and working conditions of the teachers are determined has skewed the over-all spending pattern.

Let me comment briefly on the last two of the so-called villains. When the county boards were set up in the 1968-69, we were told that they would bring equal educational opportunities to all pupils, wherever they might live and more cheaply than could be done with small boards. This is known as economy of scale. But is hasn't worked out that way. There have undoubtedly been better education programmes and services for the families in the rural and poorer sections but the costs have been higher than expected. Without going into details, I should point out that at least two reputable experts on education finance, D.M. Cameron and Richard M. Bird, have recently pronounced that the county system of administering our education is not economical and that the province should take over the financing of education. The late Robert Jackson, author of the 1978 report, *Implications of Declining Enrolment for The Schools of Ontario*, summed up the views of Bird and Cameron this way, 'They (the county boards) are too large and too inclusive to serve effectively as the locations of the political processes to resolve the competing preferences of any given com-

munities.' That means that the county boards are not able to respond very well to community desires in education; they are not very effective in admitting citizens into the decision making process and, not least, they are blamed for an escalating property tax bill which falls unfairly on the shoulders of the poor and older people.

The third so-called villain is collective bargaining in education. There is an important place for unions in our society. They have enormously helped the workers in our plants, mines and shops. That is not under debate. Neither is it under debate that teachers should be well enough paid to attract university graduates of good quality into the profession.

The problem with collective bargaining in education is almost peculiar to education. Labour and management in a factory or in a service industry or in a timber operation or a mine usually can settle their differences without directly affecting the lives of others. Everybody concedes that it is their business in the final analysis and that if the bargaining process drives up the price of the service or the product too much, then the business may close and be replaced by another one. In education, it is different. The school system must continue and the taxpayer must pay. When two-thirds of the available money for education is moved back and forth across the bargaining table between trustees and teachers, without parents and students having a chance to protect their interests, there is something wrong. When textbooks cannot be updated or psychological services maintained or field trips continued or new band instruments purchased because the salary and benefits package takes such a large bite of the total, there is going to be bitterness. Even worse, when the education services decrease and the tax bill goes up faster than inflation, then there is bound to be loss of faith in the system.

Education is a delicate process of building character in the young, a process that depends on trust, mutual respect, integrity, sharing and much more. It is entirely incompatible with that process to have teachers and trustees battling each other with propaganda, dealing with each other by manipulative means and distrusting each other's motives on every issue. The point I am making is that destructive relationships spill over into the classroom and the possibility of serving the true ends of education is undermined.

I believe that the county system should be dismantled in favour of more local arrangements and that collective bargaining should be taken out of education in favour of decision making mechanisms shared by teachers, trustees, parents and students. Salaries and benefits for teachers would be determined by a non-political provincial tribunal or commission before which teachers and others would present arguments and briefs.

I prefer to skip details of any alternative arrangement in this brief presentation. My intention is to raise fundamental questions about the wisdom of our present arrangements.

Panel 3 CHANGING CHOICES OF CAREERS

Moderator: Mr. Robert Mark, Lawyer.

Panelists: Ms. Shirley Ma, Regional Planner.

Mr. Robert Ng, Landscape Architect.

Mrs. Donna Wong, Interior Designer.

Mr. Alfred Sung, Fashion Designer.

Mr. T. Norton, Vice President, Humber College.

Mr. Alan Bradshaw, National Programme Manager, Junior Achievement of Canada.

Dr. Darshan Pandya, Computer Consultant.

CHANGING CHOICES OF CAREERS

Dr. Darshan Pandya

Let us examine the history of career choices.

If we go back to the beginning of civilization, 7,000 years B.C., and forward through time to 1770 A.D., we find that the world was pretty stable. Wherever you looked, societies were agricultural and feudal. These societies had no career choice. You did what your father did. Most people were farmers, peasants, skilled craftsmen, soldiers, aristocracy, clergy and priests. The life span was only 25 or 35 years.

The first industrial revolution was the starting point of the kind of world in which we find ourselves today. Machines and steam power were used to do jobs which previously were done manually. Small businesses came into being (1770 to 1964). Also, a gradual separation between the arts and sciences took place. Universities now taught science and engineering as well as philosophy.

The life expectancy was from 35 to 65 years.

The second industrial revolution took place from 1964 to 1974. This was based on the use of transistors. During this period, computers emerged on a large scale, but because of the cost, were only affordable by large companies, and used commercially.

The second industrial revolution saw a shift from manufacturing to service, auto mechanic, landscaping, small businesses now joining to form corporations. Mass production causing waste of natural resources and pollution.

Another result was a great information explosion.

Forecast from 1974 to 2100 A.D. A third industrial revolution is taking place. This is based on large-scale integrated circuits, small inexpensive mini-computers, micro-computers used for commercial and individual purposes. This requires a new type of approach to survive.

Whereas previous revolutions emphasized production, this revolution will see a greater emphasis on quality rather than quantity. There will also be conservation of resources and concern for the pollution of the environment. This will create new jobs.

Because the life expectancy will be between 75 and 100 years, there will be increased leisure time. Another contributing factor will be reduced working hours. Many people will take up a second job. The information explosion will continue to increase.

The qualities which will be needed to cope with the change will be good management abilities, human relations, awareness of trends, planning for the future, open mind, willingness to take changes and a good understanding of how to use available tools.

The opportunities for the future will be in information and data processing. Also, there will be a great demand for maintenance, technicians of electronic equipment, instrumentation and skilled craftsmen. Because the service sector is increasing, there will be increased demand for people in business administration. 40 to 50 percent of the jobs available in the future will be service sector jobs requiring salesmen.

Because of new advances in technology a person considering a career would have to determine how his choice of career will be affected by these changes. This is because the primary quality required for the future is the ability to change with the situation.

Becoming self-employed will present job opportunities for the future.

QUESTION PERIOD

— Will the interest rates in the future grow?
— Yes, I feel that the interest rates will drop. To survive today any country must use whatever tools available to do whatever work that needs to be done in the most efficient way. The ancient Egyptians were at the forefront of their modern technology. If we can maintain a good level of science and technology in Canada, then we will be able to survive.

— Because of the increased advances in technology, will society in future become pluralized? Few well-trained experts?

— No. History has not proven this to be true. The variety of new trades and occupations, especially in the service industries, will grow far more quickly than will the decrease in the individually specialized manufacturing and computer repair processes.

— What efforts are being made to see that people who are in a minority group have equal opportunities for being hired?

— In the 'Junior Achievement' organization there is every effort to see that people of minority groups have equal opportunities. The majority of our programme participants are female (70%). But in personnel departments in the sales area, attitudes towards minority groups have not changed. The same is true of an academic institution, where university coordinators being turned down because they are women.

CHANGES
Alan Bradshaw

As recently as the 1950's, the majority of young people, when faced with the choice of career they would like to follow, were conditioned by history and tradition to to believe that once a particular career was decided upon, they would remain in that role for their working years. This is no longer true. As our technology and social morals have advanced, also our thinking has changed as regard the one job for life concept. More and more people are changing careers. Not only once, but sometimes, two or three times in their life. There are some, in fact, who have changed careers five and six times!

Young people of today and those who are not so young, are faced with some problems related to career choice with which earlier generations did not have to cope. Perhaps the most apparent of these problems, and the one having the most impact upon career choice, is increased population.

As our population has increased, so has the competition for job openings. This has presented young people with problems in their choice of career. For example, there are many young people who feel that they would like to enter the teaching profession but are hesitant because they know that there is already a surplus of qualified teachers. There are other professions and job categories with the same problem — supply and demand.

Advanced technology has provided a partial answer to the problem. There exists today many more career choices than young people who lived in the late 40's and early 50's would have thought possible.

The world of computers has presented us with computer technicians, systems analysts, programme designers and others.

What people, both young and old, must do is to prepare themselves for initial career choices while keeping their options open for future changes. I offer two suggestions: the first aimed at young people who are facing, or will be facing that initial career choice. My second suggestion is for young people and those who are already in the work force.

Because of the competition and the number of career possibilities facing them, young people of today must prepare themselves more thoroughly than previous generations. The traditional method of academic preparation, while still necessary, is no longer enough.

In the 1950's and 60's, the postwar generation felt that a university degree was the key to success. We have come to realize that such is not the case. Community colleges were created out of the knowledge that university preparations would only be appropriate for some career choices, while many others required more practical

preparation. Some universities have developed cooperative education which combines the practical with the academic.

The other area that the young people looking for change overlook many times is apprenticeships in the trades.

Young people of today should explore as many career opportunities as possible. This can be done through parttime and summer jobs. Also, by becoming involved with other programs such as Junior Achievement, high school on the job week, little theatre groups, bands and orchestras, military programs and others.

My second suggestion applies to all and is a method of gathering career information, while providing assistance to others — volunteer work. A volunteer serving in a social service setting (Big Brothers) might discover that he or she has specific talents that would enable them to follow a career in that field. Should they decide to change careers, they could pick up the valuable skills and experience needed to give them the necessary background. In fact, many of the resumes that are presented to employment agencies and to personnel departments consider such volunteer experience important.

In summary, for people facing career choices or changes, explore as many career opportunities as you possibly can. The more practical knowledge you have of potential careers, the better the change for making a wise decision. Be enthusiastic in your preparation, get the academic preparation you need, either at 'day or night' school, gain as much practical experience as possible. In this rapidly changing world, we should all be prepared to change and be willing to explore new career options and possibilities that will occur. 'There is nothing permanent except change.'

CHANGING CHOICES OF CAREERS

66 percent of Canadians are employed, a figure of 14 percent over our average of the 1960's. The problem there is that we are putting people into the labour market faster than even we can create jobs. Many different groups of people who traditionally have not worked are now entering the market. So despite the tremendous rate of growth of jobs that we experience, we still have unemployment.

As a result, jobs at the professional entry level are extremely difficult to find. Hence, young people in Ontario are coming to the colleges of Applied Arts and Technology in droves. The freshman class is now about the same size as that in the universities. These students are looking for choices for their future which will bring jobs quickly, jobs that are permanent, or at least are in growth, that will evolve at the same pace as changing technology.

Generally, their protection against the future is an education that is not overspecialized. Training that allows them to solve problems, not just fix known mechanisms. The student, as an example, who has been trained specifically on only a gas driven piston engine is a potential candidate for unemployment. A student who understands the general theories of physics and the general application of these theories to mechanisms and, finally, understands the specific engine — this student will be able to adapt to diesel or wankel or stratified charge or turbine or whatever. He tends to be protected against the future by being equipped to evolve with the changing technology. What I am trying to say is that of equal importance to career choice is the choice of the learning process to prepare for that career. Too much theory, at the cost of practical application probably means no job today. I think many of our recent university graduates are finding that.

However, too much practical application, at the cost of theory may mean no job in the future. That is a very tricky line to follow. Basically, that is what we are trying to follow in the colleges; to find the line that gives about the right measure of theory and about the right measure of practical education so that there can be a job now and fifteen years from now. The person, because he has been properly equipped with some theoretical background, can evolve with the technology in which he is found. Now, I suppose I had best roll out the crystal ball and suggest which careers may make sense for this balanced education.

It is with some trepidation I venture into the world of computers because I know we are going to hear much more about that later and I'll probably stand to be corrected. However, despite our best efforts and the current level of exports in the computer hardware

field from Canada, the present relative weakness of the Canadian dollar does not guarantee a future for computer manufacture in Ontario. Rather, we see a growing need for software specialists to design programming systems to use the vastly improved and infinitely less expensive hardware of the future. For young people with competence in math and a reasonably analytical mind, computer programming with software specialization might be a very positive career choice.

Over the next 15 years, the aircraft industry will be extremely busy. Although a major depression will interrupt this, it is generally predicted that by the year 2,000, tourism will be the world's largest nonmineral-based industry. Because the cost of individual car transport will escalate, aircraft transportation will come to be even more important.

At the moment, world air fleets are largely made up of reasonably old first-generation passenger jet aircraft. These are inefficient in load capacity, fuel expensive, dirty and noisy. Over the next fifteen years, the aircraft industry must not only replace the existing aircraft but expand the world fleet significantly with new generations of widebodied, short and medium haul aircraft. Although we will not do a great deal of design work in Ontario, we will be heavily involved in manufacturing, both as primary and secondary contractors.

Careers in manufacturing, management, down through machinist, aircraft fitter, metal joining and nondestructive testing will go rapidly and reasonably permanently into this area.

Peripheral to this change in the aircraft industry will be the strong run in the avionics precision instrument technician of digital electronics cluster. Firms such as Litton Systems and others are forecasting a rapid growth in their work force; and careers in this are are almost guaranteed. Occasionally in this field, we have a certain question of ethics and morality; basically, Litton Systems' great strength at the moment is in their contract which will go past the year 2,000 for guidance systems or cruise missiles.

Traditionally, a less popular area but equally dramatic in its growth potential is the tool and die making design technician. From computers to automobiles, from toys to aircraft, the manufacturing process starts with a highly skilled, very creative individual, who translates ideas into working metal or plastic. The tool and die areas probably have the strongest career demand of any potential career feature for young people in Ontario at the moment. The field is wide open and the ability of the technician to open his or her own speciality business is there.

One of the problems we encounter in this area is the different directions that the federal and provincial governments are going. I think that the federal government, not necessarily through choice, but in

the round of discussions and general agreements on trades and tariffs, is moving Canada out of manufacturing and into the traditional role of mineral and basic material production. On the other hand, Ontario has invested interest in manufacturing and has very high hopes for the growth of the manufacturing and export industries. Frankly, I don't know which direction we'll go but we're betting that because there is a large resident manufacturing base in Ontario and because of our proximity to the American market, that despite the long-term evolution of the Canadian economy as a whole away from manufacturing, that our manufacturing base in Ontario will remain very strong. However, speculation without accountability is the joy of this kind of talk.

I'm sure you are wondering about the future of medicine, law and engineering. Generally, I suspect that this audience knows the career opportunities in the forementioned fields much better than I can predict.

However, in education, the 1990's look good for people who want to be teachers. In the short-run, get a trade, practice it and by 1990 our young people will be ready to teach. I feel that the real interest in this area is the tremendous demand of Third World countries for Canadian teachers. I feel that is an area that we are only beginning to explore in Ontario. I am aware that through the college system we actively tender on projects throughout the world, for example, the design and building of colleges or schools, the staffing and training of the future staff and administrators for those schools. Often we find ourselves as a tiny little system competing in our tendering against the governments of Japan, Germany and Italy. Often we are successful in winning those competitions. I feel this is because these countries see Canada as a reasonably neutral backyard to bring in. Secondly, there is a very strong feeling of support and appreciation for the general skill levels of Canadian technicians, tradesmen and engineers. Clearly there is a tremendous need and great potential for careers essentially aimed at the export and amendment of Canadian technology to fit into Third World countries. Take for example, the sugar cane process that has been developed in Canada. The complete inability of our assorted levels of government to figure out who should produce it has stopped any real progress thus far. But that mechanism, when it is produced, as eventually it will, probably will be the greatest change in technology that has struck many of the Third World countries since the beginning of the industrial revolution. The ability of Canadians to work in speciality fields, to adapt technology for Third World countries represents a unique series of career opportunities. Because our companies are much smaller, we have proven we can afford to produce much shorter production runs. This means that we can adapt speciality mechanisms to speciality needs. This can be accomplished much more readily than can be done by much larger companies with their larger production runs.

The shortage of energy will create new careers for alternate energy technicians, specialists in the application of solar, wind or biomass energy to existing residential and commercial facilities. Careers for graduates in these areas look good for the 1980's. Energy management technicians working inside industries to get more mileage out of the energy dollar. This career is about five years old in Europe and should emerge in Canada with significant opportunities in the next three or four years.

The growing area of transportation of energy has many career opportunities. The problems created by pipelines, for example, manufacturing, maintenance and measurement of productive flows along these pipelines, metals joining at the bottom, instrumentation technicianary at the top, supply these opportunities. Regrettably, most of them will require workers to be in climates which may not be to their agreement most of the time. Frobisher Bay in February is not exactly a holiday resort.

On the lighter side, the leisure watercraft industry is growing quickly. This area is changing from a dependancy upon motors to a growth in sail. Careers in yacht brokerage, repair, marine management and insurance should all be strong through the 1980's and 1990's.

Despite fluctuations in our economy, the growth and the sale of boats, ships, yachts, etc., continue to increase each year. The people who buy this kind of vessel tend to be protected against the short-term fluctuations in the economy. People owning these boats require crew, management personnel and other sophisticated services which we have never gone to any great length to prepare workers to fill in Canada. The opportunities for young workers in these areas are great. Pay levels are also enticing. Perhaps a person would not wish to spend his whole lifetime working in this area, at least in the captaining and crewing of those vessels, but after spending five or six years doing this work and then, using it as a bridge in order to work into marine management.

In other sectors of the leisure industry, much of the growth will be in programmes aimed at senior citizens in our society. The population bubble of the postwar baby boom will drag society's focus though each decade as it ages. Young people specializing in working with seniors will have the best career opportunities of anyone in the social services.

Business administration and management fields are increasingly interested in young people who are flexible and have a general understanding of finance, computer applications, marketing and sales field. Generally, these sectors are solid and we see a shift right now in the colleges from the social services areas which were so popular in the early 70's to the business fields.There was a time, generally speaking, our applied arts programmes were by far the

strongest areas in the college systems. All the health sciences for example, child-care, mental retardation and others were a reflection of society at the time in 1968 through 1975. This is not the case now, for the young people who are coming into the colleges now are far different. They tend to be choosing the business programmes rather than the social services or social sciences.

Very few academic institutions are prepared to talk about sales training. Careers in sales are wide open. The speciality of training a solid base of product knowledge has been created. Companies will always need bright, young, well-informed people to get their message across. Each year though, when companies come to colleges to recruit graduates the number of jobs that go empty simply because they have the word 'sales' tied in with them is rather startling. In most companies, the only people who make any money for the company are the salemen. Everything else is cost, so the future for these people and their importance to our economy is extremely important.

There are many other career areas which deserve comment but time and uncertainty of government regulations and changing fashion pose a problem. Clearly, we are entering a period of increasing economic uncertainty; the giving of advice even more hazardous because of this situation. However, for young people with the right mix of practical and theoretical training the opportunities will be extraordinary. Our changing world is made-to-measure for bright, aggressive people.

REGIONAL PLANNER AS A PROFESSION: SOME OBSERVATIONS

Shirley Ma

Planning is a way of looking at the social reality with a geographical dimension. Within the context of the provincial government, planning is composed of area or regional studies and the translation of the study findings into policies and programs for implemention.

Planning therefore has two components — technical and political. The technical component consists of economic base studies of an area or region. The major objective is to identify the issues for growth and the development of a strategy to improve the economic performance of the area.

The political component is the process by which the recommendations of the technical studies are translated into policy and program for implementation. This is the area where direct interaction among the government, the private and public sectors take place, where trade-offs are negotiated and decisions are made.

The planning process is a long and arduous process. A regional planner is but a small actor in this process.

The system of advancement corresponds to the planning process. One moves from the technical to the policy level where one assumes supervisory responsibilities and takes part in the decision making process. In real terms, one advances from the professional level to managerial level becoming a manager, a director, an executive director and Deputy Minister.

The skills required for a successful career in planning include, among other qualities, the following:

- technical competence
- communication skills, verbal, written
- interpersonal relations
- organization skill
- creativity, flexibility, initiative
- ability to work under pressure

Some impediments to advancement for a Chinese female planner may be that of perceived credibility and communication.

My working experience has broadened my understanding of the Canadian ways of living. It has exposed me to the Ontario culture, its local colours and its mural landscape. However, as a first generation immigrant, I felt at times that in my working life I do not have much opportunity to develop the part of me that is not Canadian. A certain degree of (socio-cultural) marginality is felt in my existential outlook.

Panel 7 YOUTH PROBLEMS

Moderator: Mrs. Shirley Hoy, Executive Director,
St. Stephen's Community House,

Panelists: Ms. Belinda Li, Undergraduate,
University of Toronto,
'A "Foreign" Student.'

Ms. Pat Wong, Student,
Harbord C.I.,
'Dating.'

Ms. Joyce Gee, Postgraduate Student,
University of Guelph,
'Second Generation Chinese Teens.'

Mrs. Christine Lau, Social,Worker,
'Teenage Pregnancy — Sex Education.'

Mr. Raymond Chung, Social Worker,
Children's Aid Society,
'Identity — Communication — Generation Gap — Cultural Gap —
Run-aways...'

Dr. Albert Leung, Psychiatrist,
'And So On...'

Mr. John Wong,
'Personal Views.'

Saturday, November 10, 1979	2:00 p.m. — 4:00 p.m.
Sunday, November 11, 1979	1:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.

2ND GENERATION CHINESE TEENS

Joyce Gee

There are basically three things which I want to cover during this discussion period.

1) My personal experience and observations
2) My present research
3) Possible future research and problems

Having immigrated into Canada at an early age and being exposed to both cultures (Chinese and 'Canadian'), has enabled me to take a personal as well as an objective view towards the situation of Chinese Canadian youths.

During my undergraduate years in University of Toronto, I encountered many occasions where I have to choose to either join with my Chinese friends or with my non-Chinese roommate and friends. For example, everyday in the cafeteria, I had a tough time deciding who I should sit with. It got to be so frustrating that I ate my dinner at an unusual hour so that I could be alone. It is not until later did I realize that the problem is a result of my confused identity. I was not clear whether I am a Canadian or a Chinese. I felt very inferior among both groups and I feared that if I choose one group, then I will be rejected by the other group. Hence I became lost and strived to be a 'Universal' person (an uncommitted person who is friend to everyone). I am sure many of the youths can share with me in this familiar dilemma.

Furthermore, based on my past experience, I observed not only a gap between the 'Canadian' and Chinese youths but a gap among the Chinese youths themselves as well. There are basically three groups among the Chinese Canadian youths. I have classified them along a continuum (shown below).

HONG KONG CROWD	BAMBOO KID	BANANA
Immigrated at an older age	Immigrated at an early age	Born in Canada (2nd, 3rd, etc., generations)

Language barrier may contribute to this gap but I feel the major reasons lie in the socialization differences and the unique problems that each group is faced with. While the recently immigrated youths are trying to adapt into the new country and master the English language, the third and fourth generation youths are seeking their 'ROOTS' and tracing back the ancestral records. Meanwhile, the 'in-between' Chinese youths are searching for their 'IDENTITY' within the Canadian society.

My present research is exploring the potential conflicts among immigrated Chinese parents and their Canadian-born teens. I have developed seven conflict areas which I feel are common among parents and youths. The seven areas are: l) Methods of teaching, 2) Value of education, 3) Career goals/aspirations, 4) Family relationships, 5) Peer relationships (dating), 6) Language, 7) Feelings towards Canada.

Part II of my study is to measure the consistency between the Chinese youths' attitudes and their actual behavior. I hope this section will help to uncover 'Why there is an increasing number of drop-outs, crimes, rebellious reactions, loneliness, etc., among Chinese Canadian youths' — a question raised by many social and community workers. Because of time and financial drawbacks, I am only looking at the youths' attitudes and their perceptions of their parents' attitudes.

For future studies, I strongly recommend a comparison between the parents' values as perceived by the youths and the actual parents' values. Many facilities and programmes, such as the Heritage Language programmes, a centralized Chinatown, etc., which are not available in small cities and various areas, must be considered carefully when generalizations are made concerning Chinese Canadian youths. One source which I feel would be useful in helping the youths today is to talk to Chinese adults who have grown up in Canada. The reflection of their past growing up pains and the way they cope with them would definitely serve as good guidelines. Lastly, I want to raise the question concerning the diversity among the Chinese Canadian youth population. Will there be unification or more diversity, harmony or disharmony, cooperation or disintegration among the younger and future generations? How will the structure and relationships in Chinese families be modified?

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE YOUTH PANEL

1. That the Council draw to the attention of various supportive service agencies of the need for workers with the appropriate language and knowlege to work with Chinese families in need of services.

2. That the Council in cooperation with other service organizations and government departments, launch a series of family life education programmes, in particular, around the area of effective parenting skills for Chinese parents and children.

3. That the Council should support service organizations and community centres in the Chinese community to apply for funding in hiring Chinese-speaking youth workers to work directly with the teens.

4. That the Council sponsor the organization of a conference for teens to express their views, possibly involving them in an ongoing basis to plan programmes and activities to meet their needs.

Panel 10 THE ROLE OF CHINESE CANADIAN WOMEN

Moderator: Dr. Donald Chu, Physician.

Panelists: Ms. Terry Flower, Ph.D. Student,
University of Toronto,
'A Historical Perspective of the North American Chinese Women.'

Mrs. Irene Chu, Conference Coordinator,
'The Progressive Traditional Woman — Looking Beyond the Threshold of 40.'

Ms. Susan Eng, Lawyer,
Legal Section, Queen's Park,
'Changes and Challenges.'

Ms. Louise Lore, Senior Producer,
Quarterly Report, C.B.C.,
'Challenges.'

Saturday, November 10, 1979 2:00 p.m. — 4:00 p.m.
Sunday, November 11, 1979 1:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.

HISTORY OF CHINESE WOMEN IN NORTH AMERICA

Terry Flower

When we try to unravel the history of Chinese women in North America we are confronted with the limitations of our sources. As with an investigation of any aspect of the Chinese community's early history, so to in the present case, we are forced to rely on information from sometimes sympathetic, often unsympathetic observers outside the community for whom the Chinese were objects of curiousity. Because most of the early Chinese were labourers, few had either the time, inclination or ability to record the events of their own lives. As for the few records which were produced by the Chinese themselves and remain intact, it is only recently with the rise of multiculturalism that they have been recognized as truly valuable to the extent that money has become available for them to be collected and accessed by scholars. Our problems are doubly compounded because the subject of investigation is Chinese women, who, like all women, have been and continue to be invisible to many historians. In spite of these limitations, I am still going to attempt to bring you a brief overview of the early history of Chinese women in North America.

While one of the first group of three Chinese to land in North America was a female, the servant of a local missionary, few Chinese women immigrated during the early period. Custom and economics dictated that men who were married should leave their wives in China. Since their stay in North America was to be brief, to do a job and to accumulate enough money to return to China in style, it was not in the minds of these men to bring their wives. North America was not their home; rather their home was with their parents and their wives in their native villages. If their stay was longer than expected, as it frequently was, good husbands were to return each year to visit their wives and to have children. Of these children, only the sons were considered as possible immigrants because of their economic potential as their father's helpers. Rose Hum Lee, an American sociologist describes the situation this way:

'The Chinese were inclined to bring in their sons rather than daughters. Not only had the expense of bringing children been a consideration, but the daughter remained at home to keep the mother from being too lonely. Women had fewer opportunities for immigrating because Chinese social customs opposed it (women were supposed to remain close to the ancestral hearth) and because fewer overseas occupations were open to them.'

With the increase of violence against the Chinese, North America was clearly not the place to bring a family even if these economic and customary restraints were removed.

With the exclusion acts of 1904 in the United States and of 1923 in Canada, what had been custom became law, for only merchants and their families were permitted to immigrate. When the exclusion act was implemented in Canada the ratio of men to women was 47:1. Exclusion was so successful that in the seventeen years after it was put into effect, only six Chinese immigrated to Canada, compared to 44,453 in the 17 years before, which meant that the ratio of men to women did not change noticeably. Because men who went to China might lose their right to return and the expense of the trip was often prohibitive, many men lived their lives separated from their wives. Others remained single, for there were few unmarried Chinese women and mixed marriages were discouraged, and illegal in many American states. This situation created what Lee has called a 'rooming-house culture.'

The Chinese women who lived in North America during the period of the exclusion act were of two types, prostitutes and wives. Prostitutes were frequently young girls who had been kidnapped and sold to procurers who then smuggled them into the country. Their lives were short and miserable with escape impossible. Wars between rival associations for control over prostitution and for the return of stolen women were frequent in the early days and aid of the police was often sought to restore prostitutes who had taken refuge with Christian ladies. The wives on the other hand lived isolated lives where even rare visits to female neighbours in the same block had to be accomplished in a closed carriage, and where participation in family or district associations which were the lifeblood of the Chinese community were limited to serving food at their husbands' functions. Other activities in which they were involved were those for which wives were traditionally valued, such as helping in the family business, having sons, and practicing thrift in order to save enough money to return to China.

However, during the period of exclusion, subtle changes occurred in the conditions of women in the Chinese community which must not be overlooked. The numerical disparity between men and women slowly loosened as more females were born and those single men who returned to China were not replaced by new immigrants. By 1930 in the United States, two-thirds of the women in the Chinese population were native-born. These women made new demands and discarded many of the traditional standards of behaviour as their contacts with North American women increased.

With the end of exclusion in 1943 in the United States and in 1947 in Canada, a new ingredient was added to the female population, for quota restrictions no longer applied to wives of citizens. Since naturalization was difficult, few men had taken out citizenship; for example, in Canada according to the 1931 census, only 5.27% of the Chinese were citizens. But now many men did so in order to bring

their wives to Canada. Those who were single returned to China to marry a China-born wife who was not contaminated by North American ideas. As a result, for many women, the period after the war marked a time of adjustment to the strangers who were their husbands and to a new country. Some of the married women had neither seen nor heard from their husbands in 16 to 20 years.

Here in our investigation we enter the realm of sociology which in the area of Chinese women remains in a nescient state. In 1952, Anne M. Davison wrote her Master of Social Work Thesis entitled, 'An Analysis of the Significant Factors in the Patterns of Toronto Chinese Family Life as a Result of Recent Changes in Immigration Laws which Permit Wives of Canadian Citizens to enter Canada.' Here we find that these China-born women follow the same pattern of existence as their foremothers. Like them, they lived in isolation from the mainstream of Canadian life with contacts limited to the Chinese community. Of the 40 women interviewed, 23 were not wage earners and 13 were employed in cottage industries in their own homes. In addition, 23 never went out to non-Chinese parts of the city. However, the influx of these women did serve to strengthen Chinese family institutions which, in turn, provided a base from which assimilation could take place. At this point I will conclude, as a discussion of the present day condition of China and native-born women is better left to other members of the panel. I therefore close with this observation that within a few years after the repeal of the exclusion laws most of the dynamics of the current situation were at work.

CHALLENGES
Louise Lore

The history of Chinese women in Canada has not been without tragedies and insecurities.

As a people, the Chinese participated fully in the building of Canada's National Dream — the transcontinental railway that created this country. Yet that did not guarantee that we shared in that dream as equals; in fact, listening to the presentation at this conference, we are reminded that we Chinese may not be equals yet. But before we become too alarmed about nascent prejudice and racism in this country, I would like for a few minutes to play the devil's advocate.

We may have problems, fears, still today, but we mustn't forget how far we've come. I am one Canadian of Chinese origin, I am neither a sociologist nor historian and I can only tell you of my personal experience and my attitudes shaped by that experience. And for me, to be Chinese and a women is to be doubly blessed.

We have a long and proud tradition. If anything, we Chinese are xenophobic — our sense of superiority confirmed by our history and culture. Reverse racism? Maybe. I know I learned it as as child. But as a member of a minority group, I never apologized for it, or felt pangs of insecurity.

I was reminded of this recently — a member of CTV's W5 staff commented on the number of calls she received after their infamous programme on foreign students at Canadian universities. Most of the callers who complained were oriental students — most of them called not to debate the facts — but to protest — 'If we're dominating these faculties — it's because we are superior!' She was horrified at its racist content; I thought it was pretty much in character!

Our own sense of self-worth has been reinforced by Western attitudes and myths about us as an immigrant people — we are hard working, law-abiding, we're not criminals, social leeches, nor before now disturbers of the status quo. Most Canadians respect their Chinese communities and today because of the law, interest in Mao's China — we're trendy, as well. What I'm trying to say — is that for me being Chinese has always been a source of pride, an extra and a source of social benefit I was born with.

If being Chinese wasn't enough, I was born a woman as well. As a woman today, following International Women's Year and the slow but steady gains of the feminist movement, I have opportunities that never existed before. Of course we have to discount some tokenism and some pockets of reactionary resistance. But look around us: women are joining the work force in unprecedented numbers. There are young women looking for long term careers

(not just biding time till marriage) and older women rejoining the work force and we are demanding and getting career opportunities. As a Chinese woman in the work-force — I found it was a special position.

The Chinese reputation as hard working, diligent, loyal and dutiful. There is no question our cultural background prepares us to be model employees. We're generally well equipped as well, with the Chinese stress on education and training. And on top of all that: we stand out from our fellow employees.

I know that being a Chinese woman offers very special opportunities. I know it gave me my first chance. Of course, that is not to deny that there are problems now, and possibly more serious problems ahead. There are wider social forces at work which deserve serious thought.

1. The economic picture is grim. The competition for jobs is getting more rigorous and the man has always been viewed as the breadwinner. So fewer doors will open for women.

2. As Chinese, we know our history in this country has not been without humiliation and racism. Today we have heard a lot about this new racist expression in Canada. This is bred in part by economic hard times, by reactionary elements to the rapid influx of a visible, non-white immigration. We see it in the problems of the Pakistanis, the West Indians — and more recently in some responses to the Boat people. We see it in the CTV story on foreign students.

Unquestionably there is a new racist voice being heard in this country. What can we do about it?

As Chinese women, I think there are things we can do.

While we have a cultural tradition of women as submissive, here in Canada, there have been notable cases of Chinese women as community leaders and spokesmen. Chinese women are pragmatic, no-nonsense realists. We can certainly continue to speak out and forcefully present the Chinese community position.

But we can do more: we should be active professionally wherever we are — in bar associations, medical societies, producers 'associations, and teachers' unions. We should be militating against racial discrimination and sex discrimination wherever proven.

By the way, I find it interesting that this conference has been dominated by concerns about racist expressions against Chinese. Where were these Chinese organizations when the Pakistani and black communities were seeking support? Are we only fighting racism when it affects us? Surely this reflects on us as the most self-seeking of communities. Where is our common humanity?

As women, we might find a political voice. Canada is shamefully

lacking in real representation of women in politics. And Chinese Canadian women are non-existent in politics. We need Chinese representation outside of our community in the wider Canadian context.

The Chinese have never been 'troublemakers.' Maybe it is time we were.

I think as Chinese Canadian women we are by simple accident of birth — truly blessed. We could also be enormously effective.

Today, most of us have moved from the physical gettos of Chinatown. Now we must extricate ourselves from isolation, from self-seeking mental ghettos. The commercial goes 'You've come a long way, Baby.' I would add, 'And you could go so much further.'

LOOKING BEYOND THE THRESHOLD OF 40

Irene Chu

It is rather beside the point trying to establish whether one could be classified as a traditional, a progressive, or a progressive — traditional person. To me, tradition and progress should not be divorced from each other; tradition is born through progress and progress arises from tradition. And I believe that inside every person, man or woman, there exists a natural desire to retain one's traditional values and yet there also co-exists a strong urge to seek liberation from the bondage of the very same. My views are just some of my personal thoughts (arrived at through my personal observations). I cannot truly say whether they are traditional, progressive or otherwise.

I wish to say a few words on that one singular, unique privilege that only we, the nobler sex, have been endowed to enjoy. That one singular, unique privilege is, of course, MOTHERHOOD.

In this day and age when success is measured by material gains and individualism is applauded as the norm, the concept of family and motherhood has been constantly threatened. Threatened, in the sense that we are allowing just about anything else to take precedence over the call to the bearing and rearing of children. It is, indeed, a sad phenomenon. A symptom which indicates an apparent lack of concern for the future of our society. For, as we all know, the future of any society depends on the future of its youths, and we, mothers, have it within our power to exert influence and guidance which in turn will have enough bearings in dictating the outcome of the world tomorrow. What complexity! What responsibility! And what a challenge!

At this point, some might raise objections to my placing so much emphasis on the mother's responsibilities, but I feel that we women do carry a great deal more responsibilities than we are given credit for. By and large, a mother's role is a noble one and in my mind, there has never been any doubt that motherhood should be given priority over most of the things that we consider important in our lives.

Having gone thus far, it is logical to raise the question if it is better for women to stay at home and be full time homemakers. In my opinion it is not necessarily better, especially for us immigrant women.

Allow me to zero in on those of us, with an average middle class Chinese background, who for the past ten or 20 years have been concentrating our time, energy and efforts solely on our offspring. Are we aware of some of the pitfalls that await us? Full time mothers do not always constitute competent mothers. Especially when those of us tend to enslave ourselves with the mechanical

duties of attending only to the physical needs of our families. Many of us became so totally housebound, isolated from the world at large and deprived of any intellectual development,that we no longer live but merely exist. Our communication drops to a limited circle of friends and our concerns confined to diapers and dishes. And all too often our weekends consist largely of an endless rounds of the game of mah-jeung which, in my opinion, poses as much an addicting and crippling effect on a person as does the potency of opium. In such cases we are aware neither of any social problems nor of political issues — we live in a state of oblivion: apart from the mainstream of society. The dangers in such a predicament is manifold; the shrunken world stifles our intellectual growth, locks us in a state of mental stagnancy which in turn breeds discontent and depression that eventually might have grave consequences such as nervous break down or marriage break up. And because of our non-involvement in the outside world it sets the stage for a generation gap as well as cultural gap among the members of the family and that again might lead to total communication break down or family break up. The picture looks grim; but it is true for many. Today in our Chinese community we face more broken marriages and teenage runaways than we would like to admit.

Let me go on the second pitfall that we have to watch out for. Because of our tradition and philosophy, the Chinese have an almost 'inborn' tendency to stay away from involvements in public affairs. Reinforced by our 'isolation' in this 'foreign country,' we, very understandably, tend to bring up our children as passive, non-participating kinds of citizens. Do we not realize in the world today one faces elimination if one does not become an active and integral part of the mainstream of society?

Now the third pitfall is probably the most common one that many of us are currently facing: and that is, the lack of planning and preparation for one's, shall I say, maturing days. The average life-span for a woman today is seventy-five. At, say forty, one is barely over the half mark. Those of us who have been full time mothers very often faces a crossroad at that age and are quite at loss as to what to do with ourselves for the next 30 odd years. Many of us have, from girlhood to womanhood, traded dependency on our parents to dependency on our husbands and therefore have not developed our own identities. Most of us are so used to subverting our own needs to those of others that we have become deplorably lacking in assertiveness, self-confidence and decision making skills. Without these capacities one's educational experience is undermined. All these minuses, reinforced by institutional barriers make it virtually impossible to enter either into higher educational programme or the job market. And yet at forty, one is still a long way off from the need to join the disappearing act.

Of late, I have often pondered upon these problems. In sorting out my thoughts, one seems to emerge above the others. And that is, I feel, it is essential — almost imperative — that we who choose to become mothers, should from the very start of motherhood make plans to make sure that enough time is set aside each day and each week for our own development: be it enrolment in continuing studies or training from some new skill or participating in some creative activities or joining some volunteer work — all of which will help to keep us in pace with the real world while we are devoting most of our time in bringing up our children and also help to alleviate some of the difficulties of returning to study or work when we are ready. Just as much as I feel about 'motherhood,' I am a strong and firm advocate for the 'RETURNING WOMAN,' by which I mean women going back to college or university. Be it 25, 30, 40, 50, or over, it is never too late to return or to start. The advantages of such a step are numerous. Not only does it offer a meaningful diversion from the daily routine, serve as an enrichment programme for self-improvement and development; it is definitely an indispensible investment in one's later days when the children are grown up and gone. I say investment, not so much in the sense of material return, as the incentive and motivation that will keep us youthful and productive in our second quest in our life. And above all, in so doing, we would have succeeded in combining our duties as a mother with the use of our potentialities which makes our contribution to the society so much more meaningful, so much more important than our male counterpart can ever boast of.

Panel 5 THE GOLDEN YEARS

Moderator: Dr. Fai Liu, President,
Mon Sheong Home for the Aged.

Panelists: Dr. K. Victor Ujimoto, Professor,
University of Guelph,
'The Minority Aged in Canada.'

Mr. Lawrence Crawford, Senior Consultant,
Gerontology,
Ministry of Community and Social Services.

Ms. Jane Sam, Director of Recreation,
Mon Sheong Home for the Aged.

Mr. Kam Yuen Yeung,
Scarborough Senior Chinese Association.

Representatives from:
St. Stephen's Community House,
University Settlement House,
Chinese Senior Citizens' Recreation Society,
Toronto Golden Age Society.

Saturday, November 10, 1979 — 10:30 a.m. — 12:30 p.m.
Sunday, November 11, 1979 — 10:30 a.m. — noon

THE MINORITY AGED IN CANADA

K. Victor Ujimoto

At the outset, I wish to thank the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario and in particular, Mrs. Irene Chu, for this opportunity to participate in this session 'The Golden Years.' At present, I am carrying out some research in Grenoble, France where a very carefully planned community of La Villeneuve has been developed to integrate the aged people with the rest of the younger members of the community. The aged at LaVilleneuve consists of ethnic minorities also, for example, the Algerians, Tunisians, Spanish, Vietnamese, in addition to the other non-French Europeans such as the Italians, Germans, and Swiss. For me, it is of great interest to observe such a multicultural community because I believe that whatever I can learn from the community of La Villeneuve, I can try to apply the positive aspects to our own multicultural society here in Ontario. The main emphasis at La Villeneuve is on integration, the integration of the aged into the rest of the community which is quite unlike some of our Canadian institutions for the aged where one is segregated according to one's wealth.

Since I am given only ten minutes for my introductory remarks, I will provide a brief overview of some of the relevant questions which we should be discussing here today and tomorrow during our work shop. What I am addressing isn't anything new but are questions which have been carefully examined in France by Professor Michel Philibert, Director of the Centre Pluridisciplinaire de Gérontologie, Université des Sciences Sociales de Grenoble. Professor Philibert sees the task of a philosophy of aging as coping with the following set of related questions.

1. Of aging, what can we know?
2. Of aging, what must we do?
3. Of aging, what may we hope?
4. Of aging, what may we expect?

You may be wondering why these questions are of interest from a philosophical perspective. It must be understood at the outset that unlike Canadian universities, the Department of Sociology at the Université de Grenoble is a combined department of sociology and philosophy. There is a much greater emphasis on examining social reality from an interdisciplinary perspective, not from a narrow single disciplinary perspective. Therefore, the study of the aged consists of a team of professionals which covers such areas as medicine, gerontology, social work, law, administration, animateurs/animatrices, geography, economics, politics, etc. It is this team/integrated approach which makes observing LaVilleneuve very exciting.

Let us now examine briefly the questions noted by Professor Philibert. First, of aging, what can we know? Well, it seems to me that there are several areas in which we can begin to bridge the information gaps in relation to the aging process. There are the intergenerational differences, the lack of understanding of such terms as obligations, filial piety, social responsibilities, and moral and ethical considerations. In this regard, imagine the problems faced by our Asian immigrants here in Toronto who are now aged and who are unable to communicate with their children or grandchildren, not because of language, but because of the lack of cultural appreciation of traditional customs such as filial piety, respect for the aged, a place of honour as one ages in eastern societies, etc. Basically, I suppose the differences in western vs. eastern outlook on life and the quality of life is one important area in which we can commence in addressing what we must know about aging in a multicultural society such as ours.

If I am permitted to generalize a little, it is of interest to note that there is a tendency in North America to 'put away' people once one reaches that magic age of 65. This 'putting away' process is very characteristic of our 'toilet mentality'...that is, of flushing away what we consider to be distasteful, or not too attractive, without considering the merits of whatever we are flushing away. Are we not doing the same with the ethnic minority aged by placing them in institutions away from our day to day activities? Oh yes, we provide certain activities for them to pass away their time. But how much of the wisdom and wealth of experience and knowledge possesed by our aged are we making use of daily?

In France where I am carrying out my research, the little children are able to observe daily what the retired folks are doing. There is no school on Wednesdays and on Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Therefore, it is possible on Wednesdays, at least, to join in the activities taking place in the various centres providing social activities for the aged. Recitation of traditional folklore is one aspect of passing on interesting ways of life from a previous generation and the school children just sit and listen in wide amazement. Respect for the aged because of their wealth of knowledge and wisdom becomes automatic for the perceptive school children. How much of this applies to Canadian society?

Another very important aspect of what we need to know and how the French are coping is the fact that the elderly are treated as resource persons. It is amazing how often the retired aged are asked to visit a school to give a short talk to the school children or even provide classes on something requiring traditional or contemporary skills. I wonder why we have not made better use of our aged. For example, I was just wondering how much we can learn about Mrs. Mark's earlier life and about her home village or town in China, as she was just speaking in Chinese. Even through an inter-

preter, I believe we have much to learn from people like Mrs. Mark, who is, as she has stated, 86 years old.

Moving on to the second question, of aging what must we do, the possibilities are so great that we must stop talking and must get down to real action. Let me share some of my ideas. I shouldn't say my ideas because they are not original but have been discussed elsewhere for many generations. As a member of the Asian Canadian community, we must be able to bridge the gap between the 'western' way of looking after the elderly and the 'eastern' way of aging. We are fortunate in that we have the freedom to extract the best of both worlds. Extending this a bit further, can we apply this even to a multicultural society? I think we can and we can do this by not segregating our aged into ethnic ghettos. You may argue that because of the language and other barriers, it is best to place the aged among their own kind. I would argue that in a multicultural society such as ours, education, the process of learning about others and their culture, is a never ending process. We can facilitate the aged ethnics to transmit something about their own culture to others who may never have had the opportunity to learn about it. At least, we must be preparing the way for this cross cultural interaction to take place. Again, my experience with the animatrice at La Villeneuve comes to mind. Early last September, the members of residence for the aged got together to plan for their next activity. As it turned out, it was decided to study marionnettes and eventually make them as a project. At first it seemed like a rather boring undertaking; however, the process involved in deciding what to do, what kinds of world examples can be secured, etc., enabled everyone to contribute something. In the process, traditional doll making from many countries was discussed. We need not concern ourselves with dolls, but there are interesting works of art from Japan or China which can be introduced to other aged Canadians.

For example, calligraphy can be a good device to maintain one's finger control, a sort of therapy session to keep one's muscles active. Cooking ethnic food...the Chinese aged can win first prize blindfolded...the possibilities are too numerous. The kinds of social interaction noted above need not take place all the time. There must be room for privacy and time for communicating with nature. Brief, unenforced encounters provide an important learning environment and those of us who are still young can facilitate in the construction of a social environment in which that spirit of intercultural learning can take place. The aged have lots of time. The point is, how can we make it more meaningful for the aged to pass that time?

The third question is more challenging. It is related to the fourth question also, so let me quickly combine the two. Our North American notion of demotion, decline, unemployment, uselessness,

and fear of death as we withdraw from the labour force, either forced or unforced, must be addressed so that our outlook on life after retirement is more positive. Aging is not decline and demotion. It need not be so. As Professor Philibert has emphasized in his paper 'Philosophical Approach to Gerontology,' aging must be viewed as 'a cultural and spiritual process rather than a biologic one, and as a process of continued opportunity for further growth in knowledge, in experience, in wisdom, that is, in understanding the world and in self-mastery; a growth, similarly, in social prestige and authority'. Our task is to provide the vehicle to make this happen. As Asian Canadians, our supposed knowledge of eastern philosophies should assist us in bridging this gap in the western way of viewing retirement and the general aging process as seen in eastern societies.

Let me conclude my introductory remarks by providing you with a quotation which Professor Philibert has brought to my attention. It is reported that Confucius said the following: 'At fifteen, my mind was bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I was free of delusions. At fifty, I understood the laws of providence. At sixty, there was nothing left in the world that could shock me. At seventy, I could follow the promptings of my heart without trespassing moral law.' In order to further reinforce his point, Philibert quotes the following from Hokusai's autobiography: 'I have been in love with painting ever since I became conscious of it at the age of six. At fifty, I had published innumerable drawings but really nothing I did before the age of seventy was of any value at all. At seventy-three, I have at last caught nearly every aspect of nature — birds, fish, animals, insects, trees, grass, all. Hence, at eighty, I shall have developed still further and shall at ninety, really enter the mystery of reality. When I reach a hundred, I shall be truly sublime, and at the age of one hundred and ten, every line and dot I draw will be imbued with life.' Philibert notes that this piece was written by Hokusai when he was seventy-five. Hokusai died when he was eighty-nine. It is this outlook on life and its wonders that we must develop. In a multicultural society, we have that much more to choose from and it is this fact which makes studying and learning in Canada very interesting and extremely worthwhile.

I hope that I have provided you with enough thoughts for this morning and I hope that when we met tomorrow for our discussions, we can further develop what has been addressed this morning. Thank you.

Panel 6 THE INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

Moderator: Dr. Gordon Chong, Director,
Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario.

Panelists: Mr. Sydney Poon,
Mr. Chi-Tat Chan,
Indochinese Refugee Relief Trust Fund,
'Background Information.'

Vivien Yang, Field Consultant,
Indochinese Refugee Resettlement,
Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

Ms. Wendy Schelew,
Operation Lifeline,
'After the Arrival.'

Mr. Bobby Siu, Lecturer,
McMaster University,
' "Can You Spare Me A Job — Any Job?"
A Study of Employment of Indochinese
Refugees in Toronto.'

Mr. Cal Best,
Representing the Hon. Ron Atkey,
Minister of Employment and Immigration,
'Government Perspective.'

Saturday, November 10, 1979 2:00 p.m. — 4:00 p.m.
Sunday, November 11, 1979 1:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.

GOVERNMENT'S PERSPECTIVE ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

Cal Best

I would like to thank you for the opportunity to speak to you about a subject which has been on all of our minds for some time — refugees, and in particular, the Indochinese refugees.

By definition, the plight of refugees is an international problem requiring a concerted effort by the world community if solutions are to be found. Fortunately, countries contribute in different ways. Some, like the Netherlands, Germany and Japan, donate funds to international relief efforts; while others — for example, Austria and Italy — provide temporary homes while the refugees wait for permanent resettlement elsewhere.

The biggest challenge lies in offering permanent resettlement opportunities to people who need help for a new beginning. And it is in this role that Canada has a major impact, because so few countries offer permanent homes to significant numbers of refugees.

Since the end of the Second World War, Canada has welcomed about 350,000 displaced and persecuted people. That means one in ten immigrants to this country in the last 35 years has been a refugee.

As you know, Canada has been involved with Indochinese refugee resettlement since the fall of South Vietnam in 1975. The current program, under which Canada is accepting up to 50,000 refugees in a two-year period to the end of 1980, represents the largest single resettlement effort undertaken by Canada since the movement of European displaced persons after the last World War.

Our programme, therefore, represents a major test of our new immigration legislation and policies, and I would now like to outline these policies using the current Indochinese program as a model in explaining how we carry them out.

Canada's refugee resettlement policy recognizes that there will always be more refugees in need of resettlement than we can accept. Our goal is to admit those who have the greatest need for assistance, as identified by us in consultation with the United Nations and other concerned countries, and who have a reasonable chance of success in fully establishing themselves in Canada. The Indochinese refugees most certainly meet these criteria.

The Indochinese problem is considered by many to be the most serious refugee movement that the United Nations High Commission for Refugees has faced since its inception in 1950. There are an estimated 380,000 Indochinese refugees crowded into makeshift camps across Southeast Asia. Although an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 of them are being resettled every month, other refugees continue to flow into the camps daily.

The solution, of course, lies not only with urgent relief and resettlement but also with the source of the problem: the intolerable expulsion of people from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Canada and other like-minded countries have joined together at international forums to urge countries of exodus to assume their responsibilities to treat their citizens in a humane manner and allow those who wish to leave to do so in a safe and orderly manner.

Our selection activity has also been aimed at ensuring that all countries of first asylum would be encouraged to treat refugees in a humane manner and to show them that we were serious about our involvement.

Canada took the position that a major resettlement commitment was necessary to encourage countries of first asylum to keep their doors open and not push people back to sea or force them to return to their homes.

We are confident that Canada's program to accept 50,000 refugees will have an impact on the lives of far more refugees than actually come here. By setting a good example we have challenged other countries of resettlement to follow a similar course. And, by moving large number of refugees quickly and efficiently we are, in effect, telling the countries of first asylum in Southeast Asia that they do not have to bear the burden of the refugee influx alone.

In selecting Indochinese refugees who will be coming to Canada, we have eliminated as many delays and as much red tape as possible. The selection criteria have been relaxed to allow immigration officers the maximum discretion in making their decisions. No one factor, with the exception of personal motivation, is mandatory for admission to Canada.

Personal motivation is assessed in a general way, taking into account such things as the refugees' former success in their own countries, independent of whether they have worked as tradesmen, artisans, labourers or professionals. As a group, the Indochinese refugees coming to Canada have a broad range of skills and occupations.

In terms of public support for the Indochinese program, it can only be described as astounding. Even before the Government announced expansion of the program in July, promising to admit 50,000 refugees — 42,000 of whom would come in under a one-for-one matching formula — Canadians began to gear up for a major effort. Since then, neighbourhood groups, social clubs, service organizations, churches, parishes and private companies have become sponsors.

Refugee sponsorship has fostered a unique partnership between the Federal Government and the private sector — a partnership that lies at the heart of the success of our refugee program.

Employment and Immigration Minister Ron Atkey, recognizing the importance of the public's participation, has said, 'By working together, the Federal Government and the Canadian people have been able to accomplish much more than either could have done alone... the depth and strength of Canada's voluntary spirit was very much on our minds last July when we were considering an appropriate response to the growing seriousness of the refugee situation in Southeast Asia... we were convinced that Canadians would take the opportunity to show their true voluntary strength.'

And show their strength they have. Just three short months after announcement of the expanded program, Canada had not only met its target — it has surpassed it. As of October 26, more than 4,000 groups had applied to sponsor 22,000 refugees. And the efforts of the private sector have not stopped with sponsorship. Assistance is coming from all directions.

Even so, much remains to be done. So far this year, approximately 16,000 refugees have arrived in Canada and there remains some 34,000 to bring to this country by the end of 1980. But the generosity of Canadians ensures the programme will be successful.

In order to keep pace with the private response, we now are bringing in refugees at the rate of 5,000 per month, compared with 3,000 a month in August.

As you can imagine, it will not be easy to handle the large influx of refugees that we expect in the months ahead. So, in order to streamline the system and give immigration officers abroad more time to devote to refugee selection, we have cut out some of the paperwork. The new system is doing much to speed up the process of matching refugees with Canadian sponsors and to cope with the heavy inflow. The one drawback, however, is that many sponsors now only receive a few days' notice prior to the arrival of their refugee families.

We now are trying to refine the system so that sponsors have between two and three weeks' notice. A sponsor's refusal, however, does not create a serious problem. When sponsors say they are not yet prepared for the arrival of a family, they are asked for a target date in order that the matching centre can provide a family as close to that date as possible. If time permits, refugees not accepted by the first sponsoring group are matched with another group. Otherwise, the refugees are accepted as part of the Government's commitment in the one-for-one matching system.

As our Indochinese refugee programme evolves we want to ensure that Canada accepts a full cross section of people from the refugee camps. We have already taken special measures to make this a reality.

For example, we have worked with the provinces to develop a program for TB cases so that we can assist refugees with family members suffering from this disease. Four provinces have already indicated their willingness to provide the necessary medical treatment and follow-up, and discussions are continuing with other provinces in the hope that agreement can be reached in the near future.

Only recently, we completed arrangements with several provinces to bring unaccompanied minors to Canada for placement in Canadian homes under guardianship arrangements. Ontario, for example, has agreed to take up to 400. Arrangements have been made for a similar program in Quebec, and we expect that several more provinces will wish to participate.

Beyond this, we intend to initiate a major effort, in partnership with the voluntary sector, to expand the range of needy cases who come to Canada. We have comprehensive refugee sponsorship agreements with a significant number of Canadian churches, and these agreements contain provisions for what is called 'joint assistance' in the most difficult refugee cases.

We are thinking here of cases such as single parent families and families whose size and composition would make it particularly difficult for them to become self-sufficient soon after arrival, as well as families where one member may be physically handicapped. For these cases, careful settlement arrangements must be 'tailor-made' to meet the specific needs of each family.

Our basic objective is to develop, more comprehensively than was possible before voluntary sponsorship was introduced, a sustained major Canadian effort to help refugees whose personal situations are such that they would not normally be considered by countries of resettlement. This means Canada will assist a wider range of refugees than would otherwise be possible. It will also act as a reassurance to countries of first asylum that they will not be left with serious, long-term problems.

In closing, I would like to make one brief comment about resettlement. Since a large proportion of the refugees are being linked to individual members of the Canadian community, the Indochinese should experience an easier and more complete integration into our communities than has ever been possible in the past. For it is in the communities where the refugees will begin to feel a true acceptance in their new homeland.

While it is too early to come to any conclusion about the success of their resettlement, it is widely known that these newcomers are anxious to become self-reliant. Our officers who work directly with them are almost unanimous in telling us that the Indochinese refugees are determined to begin a new life, get jobs and become productive citizens.

OPERATION LIFELINE

Wendy Schelew

Operation Lifeline is a voluntary organization made up of concerned citizens trying to help the Indochinese refugees. Operation Lifeline was just one of the many organizations that burst forth as part of the spontaneous emergence of a movement to organize and encourage private sponsorship of Southeast Asian refugees.

Through our Government's new immigration policy it is possible for private citizens to sponsor refugees. For each person sponsored there must be a minimum of five people willing to provide the given mount of financial and moral support as well as providing backup services such as housing, clothing, employment, etc.

In July of 1979, the Government increased its quota of Government sponsored refugees to 8,000, while the target number to be sponsored by private groups was set at 4,000. During this period, Operation Lifeline and many other organizations across the country were well underway and it was apparent that Canadians were very moved by the plight of the Boat People and that Canadians were willing to sponsor privately. In mid-July, Ron Atkey, Minister of Employment and Immigration announced that the Government would increase its quota based on a matching principle. The Government had previously committed itself to sponsoring 8,000 and in addition gave an added incentive whereby it agreed to sponsor up to 21,000 more refugees providing the private sector could match that figure. The total limit of refugees brought in by both sectors would be 50,000, 21,000 from the private sector and 29,000 from the Government sector (8,000 from the original commitment and 21,000 through the matching principle).

By the end of September, 1979 there were enough applications from the private sector to sponsor 21,000 refugees. Now that our organization has achieved its target, what, then, is the function of Operation Lifeline and other organizations like it?

The single largest function which we have to do is in the area of Public Education. When I talk about Public Education I mean informing people such as yourselves of the facts, integrating these refugees as well as possible and dealing with backlash and public opinion. It is the public at large who will determine how these people will be accepted into our society and it is important to understand their concerns. In the spring of last year, when the Government decided on sponsoring only 5,000 refugees, a poll had been taken indicating that a majority (52% of 1,036 adults surveyed) felt that 5,000 was too high; only 7% felt it was too low, while 37% felt it was just right. A poll conducted after Atkey's announcement of the 50,000 target indicated a reversal of percentages; 37% had supported the figure of 5,000; 49% now supported

the 50,000 figure. The opposition had dropped from 52% to 37%.Clearly the media has some strong move effect in altering the opinion of those opposed. But what about the one-third who are still opposed to letting the immigrants in? Why are they opposed and who constitutes this one-third?

In a poll published in *Weekend Magazine* in the *Globe and Mail* of June 16th, the opposition to an increase of visible minorities tends to have greater support in rural areas, among those with less than high school education and those who earn less than $10,000. The opposition is connected to low income, low education and little experience with visible minorities.

At the same time, a group called the National Citizens' Coalition spent more than $10,000 publishing full page ads in the *Globe and Mail* protesting the increase of the intake of 50,000. This group represented wealthy businessmen. They opposed the intake of refugees because neither parliament nor the people were consulted. The National Citizens' Coalition suggested the matter be submitted before a public referendum. The referendum proposed is certainly inconsistent with the Canadian tradition of representative democracy as opposed to populist democracy.

Other arguments against bringing in refugees are based on international arguments and these people suggest it would be more effective to put pressure on Vietnam and deal with the cause rather than the effect. Our Minister of External Affairs, Flora MacDonald, led the attack against Vietnam at Geneva. Despite her attacks and many others, international pressures were unsuccessful in changing the internal policy of Vietnam. In addition, the world at large still had the immediate practical concerns of having to find refuge for 370,000 refugees already in the camps.

Other fears expressed are that Canada does not have jobs for all these people. 'Why should we let in all sorts of new immigrants when the unemployment rate is so high?' Based on previous immigrant experience and history, immigrants tend to take jobs at the lowest level of the labour market. There are a lot of jobs available at that level. After Operation Lifeline started, we began our own Employment Agency where we received job offers and placed refugees in those jobs. Within a month we had a file of over 2,000 jobs available in Toronto alone. It was not uncommon to hear from the employers something like 'I've had ads in the paper for the last six months and simply can't get anyone to work for me. Canadians will simply not take these jobs.' The refugees seem to get jobs which Canadians do not want and which Canadians with their training are unable to fill.

The real fear is that the refugees will better themselves at the expense of indigenous Canadians and that they will take jobs away from Canadians, and not the argument that the refugees will not find jobs.

Another common argument is charity begins at home; let's help our own before we help others, and the argument that we should not spend money overseas when it could well be spent here. These people are part of the 'me first' Canadians and don't really object to the influx of refugees, provided their own lifestyle is not interfered with.

I'll give you an example. Two nights ago I was invited to a university co-op to talk about Operation Lifeline because the co-op was considering making a $1,000 donation to Operation Lifeline to help sponsor refugees. The $1,000 was coming out of general revenue from rent from the 800 or so students. The meeting happened to be a public meeting and one student strongly objected that her rents were continually increasing and here the co-op was using public funds to help some refugees. Even though the cost was $1.25 per person, she was adamantly against donating her rent money to these new immigrants.

These are just some of the concerns why people are against the new immigrants.

Who, then, are involved in sponsoring of refugees? A very rough breakdown would indicate that half of all groups sponsoring are church or synagogue affiliated, i.e., they were organized through the religious affiliations. The other one half were simply groups of individuals who grouped together to form groups. These include service groups, friends from the same neighborhood, professional associations, etc.

Various religious groups have supported the cause for different reasons. The churches have strongly supported the issue saying it is a moral issue. Ministers have preached that it is a Christian imperative duty to sponsor refugees. Jews across the country have taken very strong leadership roles in the sponsorship of refugees. They identify and strongly see the similarities between this event and the misfortune of the Jews during the Second World War, when they, too, were boat people and many countries refused to accept them. Jews were finally forced to return to Germany, only to be sent to concentration camps.

Small denominations are also very active. The Japanese community in Toronto are bringing in approximately 20 families. They have seen this as a humanitarian cause and also identify with their own history of having to relocate in Canada after the war.

What about the Chinese community? What are they doing for the boat people? I must get asked that question at least once a week and the question without me even saying anything is usually followed by 'Why aren't they doing more? After all, 85% of all the refugees coming over are ethnic Chinese.'

I would like to briefly talk about the Chinese community's involvement with regard to this issue. In our organization very few Chinese people are involved, and the ones who are involved are the young generation in the 20-30 age group. They are involved for a variety of reasons. They see it as a moral obligation because they are Chinese, and see it as a duty to help. It is strange, however, that these people are somewhat removed from the Chinese community per se and are probably doing it more on the basis of humanistic concerns. Is the entire Chinese community taking a large enough leadership role in the sponsorship of the Indochinese?

One can only guess at the reasons why the Chinese community may not be taking a leadership role. They have in fact been taking a passive role in this issue. This may be because of their own fear and insecurity. The Chinese community has only recently become established in our society. They have entered middle management jobs, they have become very wealthy businessmen in the community, and the students of the community are now occupying a great many seats in the professional schools in the universities. The community has succeeded in making itself an established force in Toronto. Bringing in 10,000 Vietnamese to Toronto poses a threat to the Chinese community. It is a serious concern that the Chinese community preserve its own ethnic homogeneity.

The Chinese community seems concerned that these new immigrants will enter into the community which they have strived so long to form, and will be collectively referred to as the new Chinese community. Is the Chinese community going to retain its own ethnic identity and preserve what they have, or is it going to accept that the majority of whites view the Vietnamese as a visible minority collectively identified with the Chinese people?

The stark reality is that the refugees have few places in the world to go. Wanting to preserve the ethnic homogeneity of the Chinese community is understandable, but the challenge to adapt to the coming growth of the Chinese community is one that should be responded to.

Those of the Chinese community who were here in the 1930's,'40's, and '50's will remember the struggle that you had in integrating into this society and in establishing your community. Won't the Chinese remember that struggle, and lend a helping hand to those

struggling now? I hope that they will and I'm sure that we'll be a much richer country for it.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDOCHINESE REFUGEES IN TORONTO (or 'Can You Spare Me A Job — Any Job?')

Bobby Siu

Conceptual Frameworks

This study is based on the central assumption that 'race' and 'gender' play a significant role in locating Indochinese refugees in the larger occupational structure.

In a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society, the historically dominant racial/ethnic group(s) maintains its position by various ideological, economic, political, and legislative mechanisms. One form of ideology prevalent in a white-dominated society is 'racism.' It not only argues that whites *are* superior to coloured persons, but insists that they *must* be superior. Racism may be manifested in subtle ways through arguments that whites are superordinate because of their intelligence, training, efficiency, performance, etc. and that those in subordinated positions can attain this dominant position only if they are intelligent and work hard. Economically, the dominant group is secure and increases its wealth and property by paying lower wages and heavily taxing subordinated groups. Politically, the superordinate group reinforces its position through media manipulation and control over the police and military. Legislatively, the dominant group is penalized less severely while the subordinated groups face harsher penalties. All these mechanisms ensure the stability of the *status quo* and preserve the privileged status of the dominant group (Prager, 1972-73 : 133).

In the area of employment, the situation of coloured groups is determined by the above-mentioned mechanisms as well as by larger economic conditions. The hiring, promotion, and dismissal of an employee take place within the framework of superordinate-subordinate relationships. Coloured employees (or potential employees) are at a disadvantaged position when competing with their white counterparts for jobs. Employers or personnel agencies, view the coloured as less competent, less efficient, and less compatible than whites, and treat them as secondary. As the 1975 survey by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association shows, some placement agencies in Toronto intended to screen out Asians for potential employers because '(Asians) are aggressive little bastards', and in the words of one agent, 'coloureds apply in hordes. We'll weed out coloureds.' (The October 24, 1975 letter to Dr. Thomas H.B. Symons, the then chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, from the Canadian Civil Liberties Association). The employers may or may not realize that their actions promote racism, but nonetheless, the structural effects of their decisions ensure the subordination of coloured workers. Some authors such as Robert Blauner maintain that historically, the

whites have been able to advance *at the expense of* and *because of* the coloured (Prager, 1973 : 133).

In a racist society, changing economic conditions affect the coloured more than whites. In terms of power, the coloured are seldom found in the positions of decision making. When the economy is on the downswing, they are the first to be laid off, and the last to be hired. In an advanced industrialized economy, racist principles determine the nature of the work which the coloured can engage in — largely unskilled/semi-skilled jobs (or low-level jobs within many occuptional categories) with relatively low pay and harsh working conditions. Employers usually have difficulty finding white workers to fill these jobs, and therefore import migrant/immigrant labourers or Third World people. These people do these jobs because their home countries have worse employment situations and/or lower pay.

In addition to the 'race' factor, the 'gender' factor determines the occupational status of individuals. It has been argued that the early socialization of boys and girls as well as the education system and the mass media make men employment-oriented and women more family-oriented. Such sex-stereotyped socialization affects the ambitions and achievement of women to the extent that many women view a career as secondary to marriage, family and children (Henshel, 1973). Consequently, women are segregated into sex-stereotyped jobs usually with low pay and low status.

Structurally, one may argue that women serve as a reserve labour force which employers can draw upon depending upon the economic situation. When the economy is expanding, women are encouraged to enter paid employment, but when the economy is in a slump, they are pushed back into the home. The ideological justification for such a practice is that women's place is in the home, and that jobs for them are secondary. Consequently, employers can pay women lower wages and fewer benefits since they are not considered to be primary bread winners (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978).

Since women are considered to be marginal to the work force and do not occupy positions of decision making, they, like many minority groups, are among the 'first fired, last hired.' Like the coloured, women are located in the subordinate positions in the occupational hierarchy: they are not part of the 'old boys' networks' and according to the sexist ideology, they are seen as less competent, less capable, and less intelligent than men. The subjective and objective factors placed them at a great disadvantage when they compete for promotion. Similar to coloured people, women's marginality put them in a precarious position during economic crises.

In sum, the coloured and women are disadvantaged with regard to

being hired and promoted in comparison to their white male counterparts respectively. More important, being coloured and female places these women in a doubly disadvantaged position in the job market. Economic crises put the jobs of the coloured and women in jeopardy.

Review of Literature

Racial Inequalities : U.S. and Canada

Studies on the conomic inequalities between the whites and the coloured in the U.S. are abundant. Gary Becker (1971 : 156) investigated educational and earning power of both blacks and whites and noted that there has been little change in discrimination in the first half of this century. Apparently, market discrimination against the coloured increases as their education and other qualifications rise (Becker, 1971 : 2). In the 1960's and '70's, although the educational gap between the blacks and whites has narrowed, the income gap has not closed substantially. The income gap between young coloured men and young white men is 30%, despite an educational gap of only 4% (Bowles and Gintis, 1976 : 35).

In Canada, while there are few studies of the income discrepancies between the coloured and whites, Porter's (1969) and Clement's (1975) studies of elites illustrate quite vividly the domination of the English in the political, economic, and mass media elites. Olsen's (1977) study of political elite shows the under-representation of the 'Third Ethnic Group' (non-English and non-French). Although these studies do not deal specifically with the coloured, what their findings demonstrates indirectly is the subordination of Asians and blacks in this country.

F. Henry's (1968-69) study of blacks in Hamilton in 1964 showed that the blacks are mainly employed in the personal service sector and as unskilled labourers. Their incomes are considerably lower than those reported for the general population. In Windsor, for example, most blacks work at semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in automobile companies, some hold low-level works in Government or service industries, and a very small minority of blacks have professional jobs ('Canada's Negroes : An Untold Story,' *U.S. News and World Report,* May 11, 1970 : 46-48). Job discrimination is a reality for blacks : some have difficulty in getting a decent job and some reported being denied promotion based on colour (Koné, 1968 : 46-47; Head, 1975).

In occupations, Asians as a whole fare better than many ethnic groups : close to 18% of them were in 'managerial, administrative, and related occupations' and 'professional and technical' fields in 1971 (Statistics Canada, 1977 : 5 I, 68-69). However, when one

compares the mean income of different ethnic groups in the employed labour force 15 years of age and over, one notes that, with the exceptions of the Japanese, the blacks, Chinese, West Indian, and Native Indian were all at the bottom of the hierarchy and were ranked in that order (Li, 1979 : 18). There have also been reports of job discrimination and underemployment among Asians (De Santana, 1977 : 19; Ujimoto, 1979 : 338-57).

Gender Inequalities : U.S. and Canada

Many studies have been done on the occupational discrepancies between male and female workers in both the U.S. and Canada. In general, women of both countries earn 55-60% of men's wages (The National Institute of Education 1978 : II, 259; *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada,* 1970). Being non-white and female is a double disadvantage. The *Report of the National Institute of Education* (1978 : 259) showed that the median income for white men was $12,434, white women, $8,794, black men $8,705, and black women, $5,370. Few studies have examined the position of non-white women in Canada (Siu, 1979b : 4-5). Of these few, they illustrate the subordinate position of coloured women. Native Indian women tend to be the poorest of all women in Canada *(Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women,* 1970 : 328-3L). Immigrant women (white and non-white) are underrepresented in the managerial, professional, clerical, and sales occupations. They are usually found in service, production and a variety of processing and material handling occupations (Boyd, 1975 : I, 406-16). Although many Third World immigrant women have professional qualifications, their professional experience and skills are not recognized here, so they end up working in restaurants or factories (Anderson, 1979 : 206-19). Both men and women of immigrant status have a depressed entrance status in the occupational world, but immigrant women tend to fare worse. A study of the Czechoslovakian immigrant women who came to Canada in 1968-69 demonstrates this. (Horna, 1979 : 270-79) and Boyd (1975 : I, 406-16) concluded that immigrant women are predominantly found in sex-stereotyped and less-rewarding occupations compared to their male and native-born counterparts respectively.

A number of studies have gathered empirical data on the situation of immigrants in Canada. Porter (1969 : 63) maintains that they usually hold low-status jobs, and Richmond (1967 : 118) argues that many immigrants experience downward occupational mobility. Studies of Czechoslovakian, Japanese, and Spanish and Portuguese-speaking immigrants after the Second World War show that they are underemployed, especially the professionals (Horna, 1979; Ujimoto, 1979; Anderson, 1979).

Methodology

Our study basically asks three questions: (1) What is the occupational status of the refugees in Toronto? (2) What are the employment differences between men and women? and (3) What is the pattern of occupational mobility among these refugees?

A Profile of the Refugees

Most (86%) of the 118 refugees interviewed came to Canada between October, 1978 and June, 1979. There are 66 men (56%) and 52 women (44%). Slightly over half of them are below 35 years of age, one-third are between 36 and 50 years old. Two-thirds of these refugees, have some high school education, and 6% have university or professional school training.

Occupational Status of Indochinese Refugees

Of the 118 refugees, 70 of them (59.26%) are working in manufacturing industries, and 14 (11.84%) in tertiary industries. Thirty-four (28.79%) remain outside of the labour force. A further breakdown in the statistics shows that most of the blue-collar workers are actually in two types of industries: metal and textile. Most of those in the tertiary industries are not in office work, but in service work working as janitors, kitchen helps, waitresses, bus boys, cleaning maids, etc. None are in the 'professional,' 'managerial,' 'commercial,' or 'domestic' categories within the tertiary industry; none is in the pottery, jewelry, construction, transportation, or printing industries; and no refugees are in agriculture. Most of the 'potential workers' are students, and close to 7% of the refugees unemployed.

Three-quarters of those who are working (78 refugees) and report receiving their wages get below $5 an hour; in fact, close to one-third of them earn less than $3.50 an hour. One may assume that those with low wages work as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers in the manufacturing sectors or in low-level jobs in the service sectors.

Apparently, a few refugees were hired below minimum wages when they first arrived here and were desperate for a job. For example, in the beginning of this year, one worker hired as a salesperson was given $17 a day for ten hours' work; after two weeks, that worker was given a raise to $25 a day for the same number of hours. That worker was over 30 years old and was not a student at the time of employment. Another refugee works in a restaurant and is paid $150 a week for 60 hours/week with two free meals a day. His average wage is $2.50 an hour with no overtime pay.

Gender Differentiation in Labour Market

The strongest indicator of sex segregation in work lies in the manufacturing sectors: men (24.24%) tend to work in the metal industry, and women (42.30%) in the textile industry. It appears also that men are more diversified in their jobs while women cluster in three blue-collar areas: textile, food and electric industries. But we see men working in metal, wood, textile, automobile, electric, and chemical industries. Proportionately speaking, more men are found in both tertiary (13.62%) and secondary (63.62%) industries in comparison with women (9.60% and 53.82% respectively).

Occupational Mobility

Before the Indochinese came to Canada, 39.76% of them worked in their own family enterprises. Most of them were either engaged in wholesale/retail trades in various finished products or in manufacturing. Their main business appeared to be textile commodities. None of the refugees reported any farming/gardening activities as their family business.

Another 37.21% of these refugees worked for outside employers. There were more white-collar workers (20.31% if we exclude 'non-food service' workers) than blue-collar workers (14.36%).

The rest (22.87%) were 'potential workers,' mostly students. No one reported being 'unemployed' while they were in Indochina.

Upon their arrival in Canada, their occupational status changed drastically. The most notable feature is that, although close to 40% of these Indochinese were involved in small businesses, they no longer have family enterprises here; instead, they have to work for others. They have fallen from the status of 'boss' to that of 'labourers.'

The Human Consequences

Our data suggests that compared with the native-born Canadians and foreign-born immigrants in general, the Indochinese refugees are more likely to be blue-collar workers. Both men and women refuges are poorly-paid, underemployed, and experience downward mobility upon arrival. During the first year in Canada, upward mobility generally does not occur; many refugees remain at the same level or to a lower wage level.

Within the refugee population, women tend to receive lower wages than men, engage in smaller variety of jobs, work mainly in the textile industry, experience more unemployment, and to be more downwardly mobile. More women worked outside the home in Canada than in Indochina.

This pattern of employment (or in some cases, unemployment) means poverty for the refugees. Contrary to some rumours, refugees do not live luxuriously or eat steaks everyday. Although these people are not starving, most reported that their living is meager, and their family budgets quite tight.

In monetary terms, it is difficult for researchers or readers to understand or empathize with the working conditions of these low-paying jobs which many refugees hold. What does a $3.00 or $4.50 an hour job mean to an average refugee? For him/her, it is a job which gives independence and is a symbol of hope after their traumatic experience in the Indochinese seas and refugee camps; during the interviews, many refugees expressed great appreciation not only for the jobs they had, but also for the assistance they received from various agencies, governments, and individuals. But when probed more deeply with regard to their experiences and reaction to their unskilled or semi-skilled jobs as well as to working conditions, many expressed dissatisfaction.

Conclusion

The findings on the 118 Indochinese refugees in Toronto appear to be congruent with the studies done on coloured people in the U.S., 'Third Ethnic Groups' in Canada, and immigrants/migrant workers in Europe. All of these groups are clustered in low-status jobs (mainly in the manufacturing sector). Women appeared to face more discrimination than men in each racial/ethnic group. With regard to occupational mobility, Indochinese refugees, like many Third World peoples in the U.S., Canada, and Europe, are upwardly mobile only to a limited extent. In this paper, the seldom discussed human dimensions of low-wage employment have been touched upon, illustrating the turmoil that some refugees go through.

Some people may argue that although the jobs that many refugees hold are low-status and their working and living conditions are by no means good, their situation is much better than that of the refugees in the refugees' camps or in the ocean. Some even said that it was a privilege for the refugees to be allowed to come to Canada and to get jobs.

In late 19th century, when thousands of Chinese coolies came to Canada to work as cheap labour in the construction of the C.P. Railway, their conditions were also better than those of the peasants in China after the Taiping Rebellion. *But the question is not whether or not the conditions here are better than those in the immigrants' home country, but whether or not the Chinese were properly paid and rewarded for their contribution to this country, whether or not they were properly and fairly treated in terms of their qualifications and skills, and whether or not they were given the opportunity to compete with other Canadians.* Historically, we

can see that they were not. Immediately after the construction of the railways was finished, Chinese were discouraged from living in Canada. The exclusion of Chinese was legalized in 1923 and this act did not change until 1947. (During this period, only 44 Chinese were allowed to come to Canada.) It has been claimed that the 'Open Door' immigration policy between 1967 and 1972 has changed all this, but it was too short a period to have a reversal effect. Asians still constitute only one to two percent of the population. Although Asians are 'over-represented' in professional fields in terms of their proportion in the population, they are actually highly under-represented with regard to their qualifications and skills: they are under-employed, remain in the low echelons of their occupations, and in marginal positions. (Siu, 1979a : 241-70) In this context, it is not surprising to find the Indochinese refugees employed in low-level jobs in Canada, since this is the pattern of Asian experience.

Those who maintain that all new immigrants follow a similar pattern, and in time these refugees will move up in the occupational ladder will find that 'colour' does make a difference when it comes to employment (and in other areas as well) and that not all immigrants receive equal treatment. (The white American immigrants, for example, did not and do not start at the bottom of the social ladder.) The Chinese came to Canada much earlier than many other ethnic groups, and yet after 120 years here, they remain peripheral. The Indochinese refugees appear to be following in their footsteps. The question then is, when will all this change?

Panel 9 DISCRIMINATION & PREJUDICE

Moderator: Mr. A. Dharmalingam, Executive Director,
University Settlement House.

Panelists: Mr. Lee Wai-Man, Editor,
Pei-mei Newspaper,
'Chinese in Canada.'

Dr. Paul Wang, Professor,
Bio-medical Engineering,
University of Toronto,
'Facing Discrimination.'

Mr. Raymond Lee, Controller,
Commercial Life,
'Job Opportunities &
Advancements.'

Dr. Angela Djao, Assistant Professor,
Sociology Department,
University of Saskatchewan,
'Social Services for Immigrants:
A Structural Explanation of
Prejudice.'

Dr. Wilson Head,
Atkinson College,
York University,
'The Ethnic Minorities.'

Saturday, November 10, 1979 2:00 p.m. — 4:00 p.m.

Sunday, November 11, 1979 1:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.

DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE

Ray C. Lee

They came to us speaking many tongues — but a single language, the universal language of human aspiration. This was said by Franklin D. Roosevelt when he was President of the United States, but is as appropriate today in Canada as it was then.

Because of the great diversity in race, language and culture, many biases and myths have developed, resulting in discrimination and prejudice within our society.

I will within the next 10 to 15 minutes give you some of my thoughts on discrimination and prejudice regarding job opportunities and advancement for Chinese living in Canada.

Because of my background, having immigrated from a former British Colony where English was the primary language and being a third generation Chinese in the Western culture, my experiences would be somewhat different from Chinese who originated from other parts of the world. I have on some occasions been called a 'Banana' because I look like Chinese but think like a person from the West. I have been accused of being yellow outside but white inside.

I have, however, done a number of case studies to broaden my perspective on this rather sensitive, emotionally charged and in a number of cases, explosive topic.

Biases and myths evolve over long periods of time and in most cases through misunderstanding and lack of appreciation of the culture of the people who are the targets of discrimination.

Talking about discrimination reminds me of a heated discussion I heard recently between a man and a woman. The man had apparently made a decision which was considered by the woman to be discriminatory and she said to him 'You have discriminated against me because I am a woman, you male chauvinist pig!' The man was dumbfounded for a moment, but then replied 'You should be the last one to make remarks like that. You are a female chauvinist,' and then he added 'I am not sure if I should call you pig or sow.' So much for that type of discrimination.

The treatment of the Chinese population in Canada until 1947 was by any standards — shameful. The entire population of Canada 30 years ago paid little attention to the Chinese and because the language and culture were so different from theirs, the Chinese were considered to be inscrutable.

Because of the reticence of most Chinese at that time, their language and culture were never explained enough to be understood. This led to a cautious approach by most Canadians to the Chinese.

The inability to understand the Chinese people led to some misconstrued and even sinister interpretations of their behaviour, which was the subject of many books and even movies in that period. The harm done by those media can only be overshadowed by the mental and physical abuse which resulted from it.

Canada, like the rest of the world, was at that time becoming more atuned to human rights problems and in 1965, the immigration laws in relation to Chinese was relaxed. The law was, however, applied in such a way that only the well educated and those of a reasonably high socio-economic level could be accepted as immigrants to Canada. This resulted in a high calibre of Chinese who became new Canadians.

The search for jobs for most immigrants and even for those Chinese who were born in Canada but were not anglicized was a nightmare. When it was out of vogue to show overt discrimination the question, 'Do you have any Canadian experience?' was introduced. I heard of one incident where a man from Hong Kong who had landed as an immigrant started looking for a job the day after. He made sure that he stated he had never been to Canada and had arrived here the night before. Could any of you imagine what the next question was? You must have guessed it. The question was — 'Do you have any Canadian experience?' I am sure that many of you in the audience have been asked that same question.

I remember vividly an experience which I had almost 14 years ago. I had applied for a position as assistant chief internal auditor of a large life insurance company. My qualifications were adequate for the job and my name being L E E did not raise any questions about my racial origin. People from several races have the name L E E. From what the placement agency was told the company was anxious to see me as soon as possible. I hurried down to the Company and told the personnel secretary who I was and I was there to see Mr. X. When the personnel manager saw me his expression was 'surprise — surprise.' He asked me to have a seat and I overheard him tell the person I was to see, 'he's Chinese.' I am still waiting to see the chief internal auditor. He probably went to China.

I must, however, add that this was the only incident of this nature I have ever experienced. I have not applied for many jobs, but I have been accepted for every job I have applied for since. I, however, always let the prospective employer know I am Chinese before I go for the interview.

From the case studies I have done, rejections for jobs range from — the job is filled when they are not; you have no Canadian experience; you are overqualified for the job; we have several applicants for the job; and you will be contacted later, but that day never comes. Many of these reasons for rejection seem reasonable on the surface and only the two parties to the interview can usually deter-

mine if prejudice is evident. Every case study which I did had at least one rejection for a job and many of the reasons quoted previously were used.

All of the people in the case studies were able to overcome their rejection without any real damage and found jobs, and some of them have advanced to positions of authority. Because of their aspirations, their cultural heritage of patience, discipline and hard work, they have surmounted the barriers which were erected and have paved the way for an easier acceptance of new job seekers of Chinese origin. Today, Chinese are given on the surface as equal an opportunity for acceptance to employment as any other racial or ethnic group by law if not in practice.

Having attained jobs and worked diligently, many Chinese are advancing in different areas. The greatest progress seems to be in the areas where technical competence is the only or is a heavily weighted criterion for promotion. This seems to be pronounced for it must be remembered that many new Canadians accepted jobs which are below their knowledge and capabilities. It is not usually difficult for the objectives set to be attained and performance maintained at a high level. There has been little evidence that discrimination and prejudice are rampant in preventing advancement in the technological areas. But is even one case — one too much?

A reasonable number of Chinese have also attained supervisory positions in corporations and Government. At this level technical knowledge still predominates. Most of those promoted have good communication and inter-personal relation skills, and they seem to have been promoted in preference to people of many ethnic and racial groups including Anglo-Saxons. There are, however, many cases in which Chinese who appear to have the required skills are overlooked in favour of others, but it is not always clear if being Chinese is the reason. At this level, there is also no clear evidence that rampant discrimination is a barrier to advancement, although there is discrimination.

Higher up in the management structure where communication and inter-personal relations predominate, cultural differences become more evident and may in some situtions be a barrier to promotion. In the senior management strata the answers to the questions 'How will he or she fit in? Is he or she one of us?' can create a barrier. If the senior executive must identify with the image of the corporation or statutory body, that becomes a criterion for the position. There are not many Chinese who hold topmost senior positions in corporations or government, although this is improving constantly, and I find it difficult to determine if discrimination and prejudice are not the underlying reasons.

Two of the reasons most often given for preventing advancement

of Chinese are lack of communication skills and inter-personal relations. In some cases these reasons are used to hide discriminatory practices, but in a number of cases they are also true.

I have made some personal observations of Chinese supervisors and managers who reported to me and I have discussed this subject with several other people in senior management. The two most mentioned observations were that they were disinclined to talk, and did not interact socially with their peers, unless they were Chinese. This could eventually result in different treatment — discrimination.

How can you as Canadians of Chinese origin change discrimination from negative to positive? Each of us is an ambassador of the Chinese community. Because we are a visible minority, our actions — both positive and negative — are interpreted by those we come into contact with as representatives of the Chinese. It is incumbent upon us — each and everyone of us — to try in every way possible to set a standard that we and our sons and daughters and their sons and daughters can be proud of. We must — each of us — try to build a bridge of understanding between us and the people we come into contact with. Unless we are willing to discuss our culture with others, we will forever remain a mystery and the tag of inscrutability will not be removed. Unless people understand us well enough, we will always remain outsiders and subject to different treatment.

We seem to be making great headway in the growing acceptance of Chinese food and eating habits among Canadians, but do they understand the relationships of the Chinese family? Do any of you take the time to explain why the Chinese way of doing things is sometimes different? If we say to ourselves, 'They would not understand' and so we never care to explain — they will not understand. Misunderstood actions have many negative connotations. Let us each help to break down the remaining barriers by positive action — let everyone get to know us a bit better. Our differences will then be accepted in a positive manner.

I will leave you with this question — Do Chinese in Canada practice discrimination and have their own biases against other racial groups and even other Chinese within the community? If your answer is 'yes,' should we not do some house cleaning? Discrimination and prejudice can only be controlled when non-discrimination is practised by everyone and we do unto others as we would have them do unto us.

SOCIAL SERVICES FOR IMMIGRANTS: A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLANATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Dr. Angela Wei Djao

I shall first present a sociological discussion of racism and then explicate the racist assumptions generally found in the provision of social services for immigrants.

Racial discrimination means any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life' (Article 1 UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination).

When discrimination stems from open, conscious personal prejudice of individuals, it is termed 'individual racism.' But racial discrimination can also be expressed institutionally, i.e., systematic discrimination against some minority group. Sometimes legally sanctioned by the state, this kind of racism consists of recurrent practices which deny members of the minority group access to important social resources and thus exclude them from full participation in the major institutions of the society. This is called 'institutional racism.' Racism, whether individual or institutional, is often rationalized by an ideology advocating the 'natural' inferiority of the minority group (and the superiority of the dominant group), and emphasizing emotionally-charged ethnic stereotypes.

Individual racism, e.g., to be referred to with a racial slur, is painful to the victim. But it is institutional racism that keeps whole minority groups from access to scarce resources such as educational opportunities, occupational opportunities, information, public recognition, etc. The Chinese Canadians have been victims of institutional racism. Between 1885 and 1947, institutional racism against the Chinese Canadians and Chinese nationals in Canada was enforced by law: the Head Tax, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, disfranchisement of Chinese Canadians in British Columbia, and stringent barriers on competition in a wide range of occupations were just a few of the most flagrant discriminatory practices.

In 1947, the legal constraints on the Chinese Canadians to participate in the social institutions and public affairs of the Canadian society were removed. However, social and psychological constraints remain, and are likely to stay for some time. These constraints are less obvious, more nebulous, and therefore harder to combat. Moreover, after changes in the immigration law in 1962

and 1967, the entry of many professional/technical and managerial/administrative Chinese immigrants changed significantly the occupational structure of the Chinese Canadians. There has been a shift from a heavy concentration in the 'traditional' service industries such as restaurant and laundry to those occupations requiring higher educational qualifications. Thus, the emergence of a professional/managerial class and group of white-collar workers among the post-World War II Chinese Canadians, and the affluent lifestyle that some of them display are taken to be an indication of the absence of institutional racism. Yet subtle discrimination is still being practised. Let me give you a few examples.

The dictum 'publish or perish' is well-known in academe. Yet publications of immigrants of ethnic minority groups in professional journals of their countries of origin are not likely to be given due credit or recognition. As some of you may know, my doctoral dissertation in sociology was on the industrial and social development in Hong Kong. Shortly after my graduation in 1967, I was advised by a senior academic that it would *not* be in my best interest to publish in journals in Hong Kong. The racist ideology was at work here. If an ethnic group were perceived as inferior, then anything coming out of the place of origin of that group would be suspect, be it a professional journal or a work of art, except for those items that conform to ethnic stereotypes. One wonders whether a British immigrant to Canada would be similarly advised not to publish in a British journal, especially if the subject matter pertained to Britain. One could also add that when a member of a visible minority group publishes in a journal of his/her place of origin, the common presumption would be that it is due to 'connection.' However, if a 'Canadian' publishes in the same journal, it would be taken to mean that he/she is establishing international reputation. I am not suggesting that the senior academic in question was personally prejudiced; unfortunately, he was voicing the prejudiced attitudes prevailing in society. That was institutional racism.

A more poignant example of institutional racism was the CTV network programme W5 on September 30, 1979. In this prime time, opening programme of the season, insinuating that any non-white student is a foreign student, CTV presented a distorted view to the Canadian public that 'foreign students' are taking educational opportunities away from 'Canadians' (presumably white Canadians) and costing the 'Canadian' taxpayers millions of dollars. Insofar as the 'foreign students' in the W5 programme were mainly ethnic Chinese, this treatment of foreign students and other students of Chinese ancestry (citizens and landed immigrants) as one single group was a refusal to acknowledge the latter (Chinese Canadians) as legal citizens or permanent residents of this country with equal

rights as other Canadians and landed immigrants. Furthermore, inasmuch as the W5 programme was an expressive form of popular culture, it condoned, encouraged and perpetuated institutional racism.

Now turning to the delivery of social services to new Canadians, we also find the practice of institutional racism. As mentioned above, there has been an increase in the professional and managerial people among the post-World War II Chinese immigrants. However, large segments of the Chinese Canadian population are not in the high-paying jobs. According to the 1971 Canada census, the average income of Chinese Canadians is below the national average. The total social welfare system in Canada is complex and largely misunderstood by the public. Suffice it to say here that the people in lower socio-economic status groups make up the majority of clients in the most visible social services provided by the government. It is, therefore, likely that the low-income Chinese immigrants are or would become clients of those social services.

In the provision of social services to immigrants, assumptions are often made by administrators and workers in the social services system that ethnic cultural traits of the immigrants are important determinants of their problems. In other words, individual, familial and social problems experienced by the immigrants are labelled as maladjustment, dependency syndrome or cultural barrier. Problems are then uncritically traced to personal inadequacy or, more commonly, to 'ethnic culture.' This emphasis on ethnicity overlooks an essential fact that the immigrants have problems because of the way the host society is organized and their position in it. To understand the problems of immigrants as social work cases, one has to understand such factors as low wage, job insecurity, unemployment and social class relations. This means that one has to examine the relationship between the immigrants and the larger society, and particularly the labour market. In so doing one finds that problems of the Chinese immigrants are shared by immigrants of other ethnic origins, and indeed by some native-born Canadians. Focussing on the immigrants' ethnicity is only an exercise in institutional racism as it proposes an unscientific explanation for a larger and more complex problem. In conclusion, institutional racism takes many forms. In our discussion here we have traced it in the main to prejudiced attitudes. Yet such attitudes could not have been so pervasive and deep without the support of other social institutions, even though that of legal sanction was removed. Institutional racism above all has economic functions. Immigrants still constitute the pool of cheap labour. But in times of economic recession or depression, they are made the scapegoat. They are blamed for taking opportunities away from 'Canadians' and for adding to the welfare costs. In order to understand racist ideology, racial discrimination and ethnic relations in perspective, and to combat

racism effectively, it is therefore necessary to examine economic realities and economic relations in Canada and in the world.

Panel 4 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION

Moderator: Dr. George Bancroft,
Faculty of Education,
University of Toronto.

Panelists: Dr. Walter Wong, Physician,
'A Critical Analysis: Chinese "Non-involvement" in Politics.'

Dr. A.Y. Eng, Physician,
'Practical Difficulties of Organizing the Chinese.'

Mr. Norman Lynn, Businessman,
'Political Participation - A Must for the Chinese.'

Mr. Cheuk Kwan, Editor,
Asianadian,
'Youth and Political Involvement: A Look at the Future.'

Dr. N.H. Chi, Professor,
Political Science, Carleton University,
'Political Acculturation Of Chinese Immigrants.'

Mr. Gordon Cressy, Alderman, Ward 7,
'Pursuing A Political Career.'

Saturday, November 10, 1979 10:30 a.m. — 12:30 p.m.
Sunday, November 11, 1979 10:30 a.m. — noon

YOUTH AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Cheuk C. Kwan

I was asked by the Conference organizers to talk about political participation and awareness from the youth point of view. I would like to share with you today some of the historical developments of Asian movements in North America and take a look at where we should be going.

First of all, I use the term 'political participation' not in the narrow sense to just mean voting or running for a public office. Rather, I use the term to include the many aspects of our daily lives — of living and growing in Canada. Actions and events that touch on our political being and our political psyche. Even eating can be political! Many of you may remember the barbecue roast pork issue in Vancouver some time ago, when the British Columbia provincial government wanted to ban barbecue roast pork from Chinatown in accordance with some health regulation. The reaction from the Chinese community was tremendous. I have never seen a more united Chinese population behind a political issue.

Earlier on, during the late sixties, there was a growing realization among many young Asians that even the almost inevitable process of assimilation was not enough to eradicate the subordinate status of Asians in North America. Thus began a gradual movement among many Asians, most of them second and third generation, to fight for their rights and equality. The movement was in part modelled after the Black Movement in the late '50's and early '60's. The Asian awareness was further heightened by the Third World Strike at the San Francisco State College and the University of California at Berkely.

Our counterparts south of the border have achieved much over the last ten years. As an example, last April, I attended the first Asian American Bilingual Education Conference in San Francisco. While we talk about government cutbacks in English as a second language classes here in Canada, the Asian Americans have been guaranteed by the U.S. Supreme Court their right to bilingual education. This is the result of increased political participation and heightened awareness.

The Asian Canadian movements are, perhaps, modelled after the American one. In Vancouver, for example, inspirations have often come from San Francisco and Seattle, two centres of Asian movements along the west coast of the U.S. The Chinese and Japanese Canadians have collaborated for quite some time in Vancouver. As a result, there are radio stations, workshops, artists and writers collectives, as well as the usual community groups involved in the more traditional immigrant services being run by young Asians.

Locally in Toronto, I would like to talk about a project which I am

personally involved in. A year and a half ago, a group of Asians started the Asianadian Resource Workshop aimed at promoting a dialogue among the many Asian groups here. A central project of the workshop is the *Asianadian* magazine, which, we like to think, is the first national Asian Canadian magazine. We decided to take a stand against racism and discrimination, to find new dignity and pride in being Asian in Canada, to promote inter-cultural understanding, and to provide a forum for Asian Canadians from all walks of life to express themselves. The response has been good. From B.C. to Newfoundland, we have proven that there is a potential for cooperation among all Asians. What does this mean to our own Chinese community? It means that we are no longer inward-looking, and we are becoming politically more aware.

Where do we go from here? How do we, as Chinese Canadians fit into this multi-cultural and multi-racial society called Canada? Canada's multiculturalism policy, as it exists on paper, is a very progressive concept. But multiculturalism as practiced is something else. The intent of the multiculturalism as we see today is to maintain the dominant Anglo culture while giving token recognition to minorities. It maintains the status quo, it promotes the 'song and dance' philosophy — that of cultural preservation without economic and political power. Yes, 'You can have your folk dance, your national costume, but you should also know your place in society.' This is the message that is given to us, and the only way to fight it is to develop our collective political consciousness.

Finally, we should not be complacent with what we have achieved. Our forefathers came to this land 120 years ago. True, we have come a long way from working for the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Many of us have 'made it.' But, unless we continue to fight for our equal place in this society, we will be back to where we were 120 years ago. Let me illustrate this with an example. The Japanese Canadians, back in 1940, were saying that they, too, were Canadians. They never asked why they should be treated any differently from other white Canadians. This complacency was shattered when the government evoked the War Measures Act in 1942, when, not the Germans, not the Italians, but the Japanese, were put in internment camps. The Japanese were a 'threat to national security.'

Will this happen again? The War Measures Act was evoked again in 1970 during the October Crisis in Quebec. It can happen to us, the Chinese Canadians. To those of us who think that we can live comfortably because we have 'made it,' to those of us who think that we have secured our place in the society, let me remind you that, when the time comes, all of us will be in the same predicament as the Japanese Canadians in 1942. Let us make sure that what happened in 1942 will not happen again. Let us increase our political awareness and our political participation.

SUMMARY REPORT

Irene Chu

The Provincial Conference, 'Living & Growing in Canada' A Chinese Canadian Perspective, sponsored by the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario in co-operation with The Ministry of Culture & Recreation and The Multiculturalism Directorate, Secretary of State Department, was held on November 10-11, 1979 at Royal York Hotel, Toronto.

The attendance was good. Around 500 people participated (420 registrants + 87 who attended the banquet only). Approximately one-quarter were non-Chinese. Although our target of 600 was not reached, it was noted the calibre of those who did come was of superior quality. They expressed their opinions, they argued their points; they were lively, enthusiastic, and they contributed greatly to the success of the conference. The Planning committee was able to enlist active involvements from 13 different organizations in the Chinese Community; this was, no doubt, a commendable step towards unity within the community.

The President of C.C.C.O., Mr. Peter Tsang, opened the Conference with the enunciation of two of the Council's more prominent goals:

1. unity among all Canadians of Chinese descent in order to form one collective voice;

2. keener awareness and participation in the Canadian political process.

The Honourable Roy McMurtry, Attorney General for the Province of Ontario, addressed the Conference and delivered Premier Davis' message.

Professor K.C. Tan of Guelph University was the keynote speaker. He emphatically brought out the many aspects of the theme 'Living and Growing in Canada.' He reminded us of our commitment as Chinese Canadians to share our destiny in this land with our fellow countrymen and together to make contributions to ensure that our country remain strong and free. He called on everyone to fight racism wherever it occurs and he urged for more discussions and appropriate actions among Chinese Canadians relating to issues which might *not* directly or immediately affect our own community. Professor Tan also recommended that we educate ourselves about ourselves and educate other Canadians about ourselves. In conclusion he voiced concern over the apparent gap between the 'professionals' and the grass-root people and that all should consider it an obligation to help those who tend to isolate themselves from the mainstream of the society to improve their lot.

The concern, the honesty and the sincerity that came through from Prof. Tan set the mood and the pace for the entire conference. The fervour was sustained and enthusiasm carried right to the end.

Panel discussions were lively, some more so than others. The two popular sessions were: 'Political Awareness & Participation' and 'Discrimination & Prejudice.' Other panels found it difficult to stand up to the competition. While these two sessions were packed with people, others suffered an apparent lack of participants. This was rather unfortunate as great pains were taken to ensure each panel consisted of excellent speakers and expert resource persons.

At the 'Mother Tongue Maintenance' session valuable knowledge and experience were exchanged. Mrs. Marguerite Ho's compilation of teaching material drew a great deal of interest. In view of the number of Chinese language classes in the province it is more than likely that there will be 'Professional Development'weekend programmes for all teachers of Heritage Language.

'I Am A Canadian' drew a good attendance. To hear the views from Chinese Canadians from all over the world was both educational and interesting. It portrayed the diversity within our own community and served to promote better understanding among the diverse groups.

'Changing Choices of Careers' offered a variety of interesting presentations. Alfred Sung's mini-fashion show was exciting and captivating. On Sunday the mood was more serious and academic. Discussions were on 'Technology,' the aspects of volunteer work as a learning and skill-acquiring process, as well as the prospect of having several careers in one's lifetime in the future.

At the 'Political Awareness' session, some 26 points were brought forward and it was beyond dispute that political involvement is a must for all. Dr. Chi of Carleton University pointed out basic practical things to do to get involved and Alderman Gordon Cressy spoke from experience that with a relatively small sum of $4,000.00, 6 months of work and a body of 150 workers, one is well on one's way to be elected into office.

'The Golden Years' should deserve a great deal more attention than it actually received. Prof. Ujimoto suggested that the aged be integrated into the rest of the community and the wisdom and the wealth of knowledge and experience of the aged be utilized and not wasted.

'The Indochinese Refugees' session was filled with resource persons. A great deal more people could have gained from the pool of information.

'The School System' was likewise informative. Prof. Peter Hennessy, author of the book 'Schools in Jeopardy,' looked at some of the 'problems relating to the cost of education.' He recommended

the dismantling of the county system in favour of more local arrangements and collective bargaining taken out of education in favour of decision making mechanism shared by teachers, trustees, parents and students. As well, the issue of public school vs. private school generated eager participation.

Of the many recommendations made and resolutions passed, the most prominent was probably the unanimous accord that a follow-up mini-conference or workshop be set up for next spring to discuss in depth the many problems that the young people have to face. Also recommended in the 'Youth Problems' session were seminars on sex education and the role of parents.

Nowhere was the sense of increased awareness and urgency more apparent than at the 'Discrimination & Prejudice' session. More than ever did the audience realize the importance of making links with other ethnic groups to form a coalition of all minorities. It was hoped that such issues be carried to community level for further discussions and developments.

'The Role of the Chinese Canadian Woman' session was stimulating, forward-thinking and exciting. From Motherhood to equality between the sexes; from inter-racial marriage to the prospect of having several marriages in one's lifetime, there was hardly a dull moment. The general feeling was there should be an entire conference on the Chinese Canadian Woman alone.

The conference banquet was held at The International Restaurant. Mr. Walter McLean, M.P. for Waterloo, was the guest of honour and brought greetings from Mr. Steven Paproski, Minister of State, Multiculturalism.

On November 11, Mr. Duncan Green, Director of Education for Toronto Board of Education, delivered the second keynote speech. He provided the audience with a very necessary perspective of a non-Chinese watching the growth, the changes and the development of the Chinese community. He also very appropriately cautioned against 'garrison mentality.'

Closing remarks were given by Prof. Jamshed Mavalwalla with powerful words poignantly felt, sincerely expressed and eloquently said. His expression of concern and of care reinforced the strength of the theme forcefully brought forward by Prof. K.C. Tan.

The conference ended on a very positive note. The participants left feeling the need, the urgency and the determination to follow the call and do something concrete. The conference had broken the ground — the work, the programmes and the projects were to begin.

On November 28, 1979 a post-conference evaluation meeting was held by the Planning Committee. All agreed that the conference was dominated by an overwhelming reaction to the CTV

September 30th W5 programme Campus Giveaway.' While the W5 issue certainly produced some very positive responses and genuine concerns, none the less there was a negative aspect to it as well. Because of the domination of this issue, time was cut short for discussion of other issues which were equally important and should not, at any rate, be slighted.

It was resolved that the impact of the conference be filtered through to the grassroot level. Seminars, workshops, forums should be organized on smaller scale at community level.

Several follow-up programmes were suggested:

1. *Youth Forum* to be co-sponsored by Chinese Community Service Workers Group and Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario. Tentative date around end of March, 1980.

2. 'Professional Development' weekend programme for Chinese language teachers to be organized by C.C.C.O. and Chinese Canadian Education Association of Toronto. Tentatively set for Autumn, 1980.

3. Mini-conference for Chinese Canadian women: Fall 1980/Spring 1981

a) to raise consciousness re woman's right,

b) to help in search of identity,

c) to discuss the various 'crises' in a woman's life.

4. Seminars for seniors to encourage involvement in volunteer work. In view of the fact that several senior organizations are planning promotion of Chinese festivities, it would be appropriate that volunteer groups be organized to introduce the festivities to the schools or other communities which show interest in learning about the Chinese tradition.

5. Political awareness seminars for Chinatown residents.

6. Committee to work on civil rights of minorities and of all Canadians.

Recommendations:

1. More Chinese speaking workers be recruited by social service agencies to work with youths and families that have not yet acquired English language skills adequately.

2. Seminars on the role of parents in the family as well as on sex education for parents and youths be conducted by Ministry of Social Services or the Health ministry.

3. More non-Chinese be involved in the planning of future conferences.

Technical areas that call for improvement:

1. There should not be any repetition of panels.

2. Translation service should not be conducted in the future.

3. Concurrent sessions should be limited to two or three.

4. Lunch hour should be utilized. Luncheons should be arranged at the conference location with speakers and panelists heading each table to enable informal discussions.

5. Conference banquet should be deleted; in its place, a social hour should be implemented at the end of each day.

AFTER THE CONFERENCE — A COMMENTARY

Irene Chu

The significance of a conference is only as important as the impact it produces on the people, the community or the society. Therefore, it is always important and necessary to insert an additional chapter on the post-conference happenings in order to realistically and accurately evaluate the project.

ANTI W5 MOVEMENT

The single most outstanding issue emerging from the conference was, no doubt, the Anti W5 campaign which, in the course of time, will perhaps stand out at the turning point in the history of the minorities' fight for equal rights in Canada. Although the magnitude of the campaign and its eventual success can hardly be attributed to C.C.C.O., nevertheless, it would be quite accurate to say that the November Conference served as the kickoff point for the students' campaign to involve the community.

On September 30, 1979, CTV aired a 12 minute segment 'Campus Giveaway' on its public affairs programme, W5. The item was built on the false premise that foreign students, mainly those of Chinese descent, were depriving Canadian students of their places in the universities. Moreover, it failed to make any distinction between Chinese foreign students and Canadian students of Chinese descent. Immediate reactions poured in from many sectors of the public, particularly from the university authorities and the student bodies of many campuses. The majority of the people of the Chinese community, however, had missed viewing the programme and was not aware of the issue at stake.

The Association of Chinese Canadian Students and Graduates of the University of Toronto had, up to the time of the conference, tried very hard on their own to enlist support from community organizations to pursue a libel and slander suit against CTV. The students came to the conference and publicly pleaded for support. There was a genuine response to their plea which created a fervour and picked up the momentum that was necessary to launch a campaign which in time spread across the nation and became a rallying point for the entire Chinese Canadian community to protest against racial discrimination and injustice.

In late November 1979, an Ad Hoc Committee of C.C.C.O. Against W5 was formed. After a period of stabilization, the committee consolidated to include the following members:

Dr. Donald Chu, Vice Chairman
Dr. Joseph Wong, Secretary
Ms. Lilian Ma, Treasurer
Mr. Cheuk Kwan
Mr. Paul Chan
Mr. Deep Quon
Mr. Norman Chung
Mr. Tsang Kai-Wing
Mr. Norman Kwan
Mr. Bosco Cheng
Mr. Gordon Lee
Dr. Brian Chin

It was the committee's uncompromising stand to support the five student plaintiffs, despite opposition and threats, that carried the campaign through many difficult phases. It was the relentless effort of the volunteer workers who indefatigably publicized the issue among politicians, government ministers, civil right leaders and ethnic community members that geared the direction of the campaign to include all Canadians. Hundreds of supporters unremittingly devoted their time and energy to the cause.

A communication network was set up with Chinese communities in all major cities. It was a massive campaign to promote awareness, consciousness and active participation of all Canadians to stand up for equal rights and to fight against irresponsible racist journalism.

The response was beyond anticipation.

On January 26, 1980 a well-organized and extremely disciplined demonstration was staged. 1,000 people gathered to attend an anti-W5 rally in Toronto. By noon, the number increased to 2,500. Old men came with their canes; young mothers came carrying their young. People from all racial backgrounds came; people from all walks of life came. With a single purpose in mind, they all came congregated at the Faculty of Education Building and marched in bitter, cold weather to CTV's head office on Charles Street to protest against the racist programme. It was a moment of unreserved emotion, a moment of pure solidarity.

On the same day Edmonton and Calgary jointly organized a similar demonstration in Edmonton with 500 participants. Vancouver later followed with their support to denounce the programme. The Chinese Canadians had finally made a commitment to battle against racial discrimination and injustice.

Publicity swept across the nation, work accelerated, Ad Hoc Committees Against W5 mushroomed from coast to coast. Support

came from everywhere. People contributed whatever they could — time, service, money, encouragement. On February 5, 1980, CTV authorities and members of the Toronto Ad Hoc Committee held their first meeting. Negotiations began.

On March 16, 1980, without consulting the Chinese Canadian community, CTV delivered a public address on their W5 programme expressing regrets over 'Campus Giveaway' — primarily the inaccuracies in the statistics used in the item.

'...The story upsets two groups of Canadians — the Universities who said the facts were inaccurate and the Chinese Canadian community who said the program was racist and cast slurs upon its members.

'...W5 would like to say this: it has never been our intention, in doing the program, to give the offence to any Canadian communities. W5 sincerely regrets any offences that may have been unintentionally given to the Chinese Canadian community.'

This semi-apology was rejected by 16 Ad Hoc Committees Against W5, as the statement did not address the real issue and was, in fact, a mere token gesture. Negotiations continued.

On April 16, 1980, the president of CTV, Mr. Murray Chercover, issued a full public apology.*

For the first time in history a major media network has openly apologized to an ethnic minority — an unprecedented victory in the minorities' fight for equality in Canada.

CHINESE CANADIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR EQUALITY

Of the many consequences from the W5 movement, the most significant tangible result was, no doubt, the formation of a national Chinese Canadian organization.

During the six months of campaigning, members of the Ad Hoc Committees of Chinese Canadians Against W5 from 16 cities all arrived at the same conclusion that there was the urgency, the need, and the momentum to organize a national body that will concentrate its efforts in the areas of 'human rights' and 'media and communications.'

On the weekend of April 18-20, the Toronto Committee hosted a national meeting of all Ad Hoc Committees of Chinese Canadians Against W5. Delegates from 16 cities participated and on April 20, 1980 the Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality was formally established.

*See Appendix, CTV's public apology.

SUBMISSION TO CRTC: 'CANADIAN CONTENT &BALANCED PROGRAMMING'

In the wake of the realization brought to light by the W5 incident, that 'media and the minority image' had become one of the most worrisome concerns, many who have been committed to Canadian Multiculturalism, who have had a strong sense of justice and of righteousness, and especially those with visible racial characteristics, felt an urgent need that constructive actions and long-term plans must be formulated to root out discrimination and prejudices and to protect the image and the rights of all Canadians regardless of their racial origin. Funded by the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate, C.C.C.O. undertook the project of submitting a brief to the Canadian Radio-television Telecommunications Commission on matters of 'Canadian content' and 'balanced programming.'

To date, the Commission has not given any formal reply to the submission; but the response to the audio-visual analysis on 'Campus Giveaway' (part of the submission) has been most favourable. Many educators and civil right leaders have welcomed it as an educational document on irresponsible journalism.

CHINESE CANADIAN HERITAGE FESTIVAL

W5 movement has aroused many from their former state of complacency. A keen sense of awareness has dawned upon the Chinese Canadian community. Involvement and positive action have become the motto of the 'W5 generation.' Many who reflected upon this issue with unsparing self-analysis and truthfully examined and probed for the fundamental cause of the Chinese Canadians being labelled 'FOREIGN,' came to the conclusion that lack of communication and understanding are basically the root of discrimination and prejudice. In order to eradicate racism, public education is a must. With the conclusion of the W5 movement and the formation of CCNCE, the volunteers channelled their effort towards the public education programme.

After months of extensive planning and hard work, the Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality and the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario co-sponsored a Chinese Canadian Heritage Festival on September 5 - 7, 1980 at the York Quay Centre, Toronto Harbourfront.

The Festival was a centennial celebration of the long forgotton contributions of Chinese railroad workers who helped to build the Canadian Pacific railroad in 1880's; it was also a recognition of the experiences of the present generation. In the words of festival coordinator Mr. Lee Wai-Man, by linking the past reality to the pre-

sent experience, 'this summation of cultural legacies helps to define the Chinese Canadian identity.'

The programme included a Historic Exhibition, a contemporary art exhibition, folk art workshops, cultural performances, Chinese cuisine, audio-visual presentations, fashion and costume shows and other events. It attracted an estimated 25,000 people over the weekend.

It was a resounding success, a well-executed educational project, meaningful yet enjoyable — a positive step towards Canadian Multiculturalism.

YOUTH FORUM

'Youth in the 80's,' a mini-conference, was organized by the Chinese Community Service Workers Group and the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario. It was held on March 29 1980 at Central Technical High School.

The forum, the first of a series, was in the form of an informal, open dialogue for all Canadian youths of Chinese descent. Many, as new immigrants, were trying to sort out their place amidst confusions of cultural shock. Others, Canadian-born, were searching for their roots and their identity. All felt the need to express concerns, to talk about difficulties and to join hands in an effort to overcome the many hurdles that one encounters as one crosses the boundary between adolescence and adulthood. This forum was able to establish a basis for communication among youths of Chinese descent. At present, an effort is being made to extend the basis of communication to all Canadian youths of all origins — a commendable move in the direction of Canadian Multiculturalism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Ten long months have passed since the November conference. A great deal of work has been done; a great deal has been achieved. The Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario wishes to take this opportunity to express gratitude and appreciation to:

Mr. Khim Tan who had the sensitivity and the foresight of recommending the panel discussion sessions on 'Political Awareness and Participation' and 'Discrimination & Prejudice,' both of which played an indispensable role in bringing out the W5 issue at the conference,

Dr. George Bancroft, Dr. Wilson Head, Dr. A. Dharmalingam, Dr. Jamshed Mavalwala, Mr. George Imai for their active participation at the conference and their unfailing support throughout the W5 movement,

the Association of Chinese Canadian Students and Graduates with a special salute to the five student plaintiffs for their courageous effort,

the members of the Ad Hoc Committee of C.C.C.O. Against W5 for their total dedication,

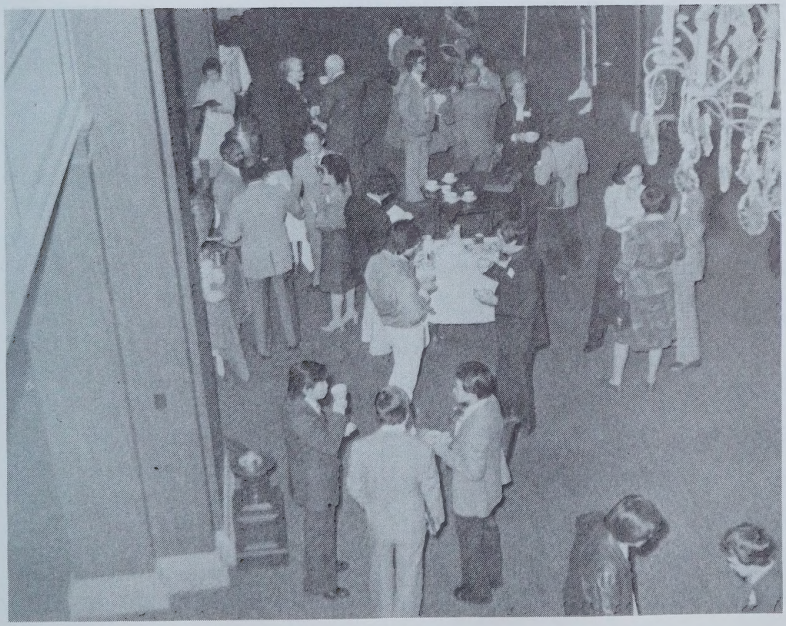
the more than 600 volunteer workers whose hard work brought about the success and the victory of the W5 issue, the formation of the national organization and the satisfactory result of the Heritage Festival,

the many journalists and reporters who lent us their support and their cooperation,

the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Wintario, and the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate for their cooperation and their generous funding of the various projects.

APPENDIX

Registration Desk



Coffee

Plenary Session, Nov. 9, 1979

Opening Address by the Hon. Roy McMurtry

Keynote Speech:
Being a Chinese Canadian

Dr. K. C. Tan, Guelph University.

Second Keynote Speech
Living and Growing in Canada

Mr. Duncan Green, Director of Education, Toronto Board of Education.

Mother Tongue Maintenance

Mrs. Marguerite Ho, Dr. James Cummins, Mrs. Lena Shaw, Dr. Peter Poon (moderator), Mrs. Dorothy Chin, Mr. Winston Wong, Ms. Wendy Wright.

I Am a Canadian

Mrs. Rebecca Li, Dr. Wing King, Mr. Wes Lore, Mr. Gary Hoy (moderator), Mr. Hubert Lue, Mr. Gary Gee.

The School System

Mr. George Imai, Mr. Jason Wong, Dr. S. L. Kong (moderator), Prof. Peter Hennessy, Dr. Morley Lem.

Changing Choices of Careers

Ms. Shirley Ma, Mr. Robert Ng, Mr. Robert Mark (moderator), Ms. Donna Wong,

Dr. Darshan Pandya, Mr. Alan Bradshaw, Mr. Robert Mark, Mr. T. Norton.

Youth Problems

Ms. Belinda Li, Ms. Pat Wong, Mrs. Christine Lau, Mrs. Shirley Hoy, Dr. Albert Leung, Ms. Joyce Gee, Mr. Raymond Chung.

The Role of Chinese Canadian Women

Mrs. Noellie Minhinnett, Ms. Susan Eng, Dr. Donald Chu (moderator), Ms. Louise Lore, Mrs. Irene Chu, Ms. Terry Flower.

The Golden Years

Ada Wong (interpreter), Dr. Fai Liu (moderator), member of Mon Sheong Home, Prof. Victor Ujimoto, Mr. Kam-Yuen Yeung, Ms. Jane Sham, Mr. Lawrence Crawford.

The Indochinese Refugees

Mr. Bobby Siu, Ms. Wendy Schelew, Mr. Cal Best, Dr. Gordon Chong, Ms. Vivien Yang, Mr. Sidney Poon.

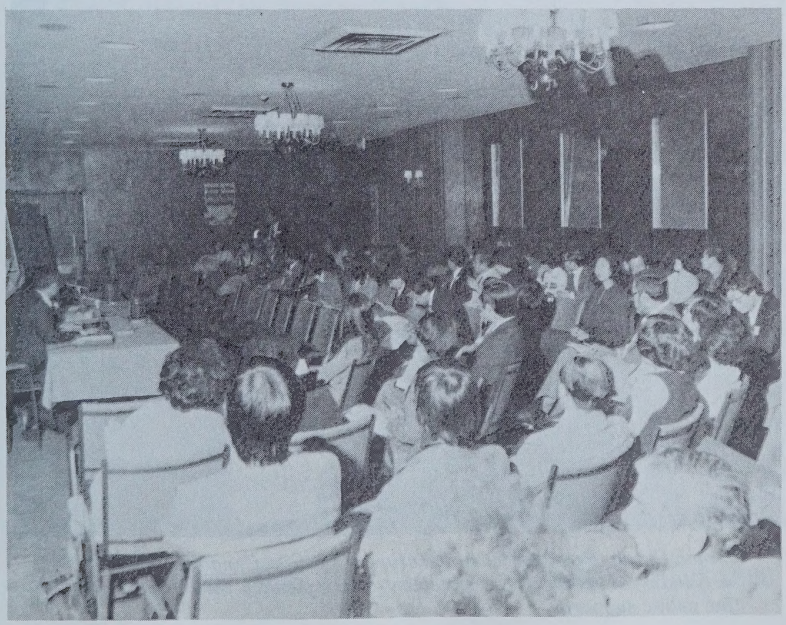
Discrimination and Prejudice

Prof. Paul Wang, Dr. Angela Djao, Mr. A. Dharmalingam (moderator), Dr. Wilson Head, Mr. Raymond Lee, Mr. Lee Wai-Man.

Political Awareness and Participation

Dr. A. Y. Eng, Mr. Cheuk Kwan, Dr. George Bancroft (moderator), Dr. Walter Wong.

Political Awareness and Participation *Session*



Prof. Jamshed Mavalwala, U. of T., speaking at the "Political Awareness and Participation" Session.

Dinah Cheng, President of Association of Chinese Canadian Students & Graduates, delivering a statement at the plenary session pleading for public support.

PUBLIC STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DINAH CHENG, PRESIDENT OF ASSOCIATION OF CHINESE CANADIAN STUDENTS & GRADUATES

The Association of Chinese Canadian Students and Graduates would like to take this opportunity to inform you of the history of and the actions taken in response to the W5 programme. The programme was supposed to be a documentary on foreign students entitled the "Campus Giveaway." The programme was shown on September 30, 1979, and had since elicited numerous responses from various sectors of the public.

The documentary displayed the typical techniques of prejudice and racial biases. By manipulating the film shown, and distorting the statistics, the programme portrayed all Asian students as foreign. The theme of the programme was that these foreign students have taken up too many spaces in universities and consequently, Canadian students are deprived of their opportunity for education. The programme further represented that most landed immigrants become landed immigrants for the limited purpose of obtaining an education, and, therefore, admissions of landed immigrants should also be restricted. On the whole, the programme invited hatred and resentment towards Chinese and aggravated racial misunderstanding.

In response to the disparaging programme, the various Chinese student organizations of the University of Toronto worked together to repair the damaging effect of this programme. Initial contacts were made with CTV, the Canadian Human Rights Commission, CRTC and various Chinese and non-Chinese groups. The law firm of Pomerant and Devlin is retained to investigate into the possibility of legal actions. Future actions in the political form, such as submissions to CRTC, or our MPs, or economic actions, such as boycotting the advertisers of the programme are being considered.

The ultimate goal of all these actions is to avail the aggrieved of an opportunity to present a fair and accurate report to repair the damages occasioned by W5.

In order to achieve the above objective, your support will be necessary.

Please consult future notices.

Please send your inquiries or suggestions to:

P. O. Box 594
Station P,
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1

or call:
598-2206 or 598-2208

SUBMISSION TO CRTC ON MATTERS OF 'CANADIAN CONTENT' AND 'BALANCED PROGRAMMING'

LETTER TO J. G. PATENAUDE

1980 03 17

J.G. Patenaude
Secretary General
CRTC Ottawa
Ontario K1A ON2

Dear Sir,

In response to the CRTC's public announcement on December 31, 1979 urging all members of the public and the broadcasting industry to express their views on television broadcasting system as it relates to Canadian programming, the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario and The Ad Hoc Committee of C.C.C.O. Against W5 wish to submit a presentation on matters of Canadian content at the forthcoming CRTC public hearing. In addition we also wish to request a CRTC special hearing on the question of balanced programming.

It is our belief, that in the production of Canadian programmes for Canadian viewers, uncompromising adherence to the fundamental principles of the Telecommunication Policy for Canada should precede all other regulations. Quantitative regulation represents but one of many possible approaches to Canadian content regulations, and in our opinion far greater emphasis should be placed on qualitative control.

If a programme is able to bring relevance to the Canadian viewer's way of life, if it is able to heighten the awareness and the consciousness of the Canadian viewer's existence in relation to his society or his environment, then such a programme should be encouraged even though it might not be a Canadian production. On the other hand, a programme that fulfills all the technical requirements of a 'Canadian' production, yet falls far short of communicating fair and accurate information regarding Canadian issues, then such a programme should be discouraged. Hence, it is not so much who produces the programme or where it is produced but the content itself and the approach to the content that requires proper supervision and regulation in order to achieve the objective of 'Canadian Content' and 'Balanced Programming.'

To illustrate our point we wish to present a case analysis of 'CAMPUS GIVEAWAY' — a segment of CTV's W5 programme aired on September 30, 1979. 'Campus Giveaway' certainly fulfilled the re-

quirements of all the technical aspects of 'Canadian Public Affairs' programme. Yet, the programme's biased content, built upon a false premise, grieviously departed from the sound principles and recommendations set forth by the Commission. By airing such a programme, the CTV network has done Canada an irreparable disservice and has thus roused outrage from many sectors of the public over the Commission's present regulation regarding Canadian programming.

We refer, at this point, to certain sections of Telecommunication policy for Canada:

Bill C24 An Act respecting telecommunications in Canada

Section 3. It is hereby declared that

a) ...telecommunication services and production resources should be developed and administered so as to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada.

b) the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system should be varied and comprehensive, should provide reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern and should reflect the diversity of Canadian cultural and social values; and should

c) contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity.

Further, we also wish to point out that the 1970 CRTC special committee on 'Air of Death' (1967 CBC) maintained in its report that 'honest bias' was admissible but that it must never be malicious to the point of distorting the truth or degenerating into outright propaganda.

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned principles and recommendations, we find the programme 'Campus Giveaway' has departed from these principles and has, in its presentation, created misunderstanding, hostility and enmity among various groups in our society.

The areas of contention are:

l. Pre-determined biased accusation of selective groups of the Canadian public,

2. Deliberate intent to incite resentment and bitterness towards Canadians with visible racial characteristics,

3. Distortion of facts; manipulation of half-truths,

4. Inaccurate statistics and figures,

5. Blatant 'sub-standard' journalism.

Specifically, the damages inflicted by this particular programme include:

l. Presenting an unfavourable image of foreign students in Canada making them feel unwelcome and unwanted,

2. Misrepresentation of universities' admission policy,

3. Misrepresentation of the Canadian Immigration Policy,

4. Insinuation that non-white = non-Canadian implying non-whites are foreign and therefore are not entitled to Canadian rights and privileges. It has particularly demeaned the status of Canadians of Chinese descent.

5. Poisoning the minds of many decent, unsuspecting Canadians with distorted facts that tend to create racial tension and prejudice,

6. The betrayal of the Multicultural Policy of Canada.

Such damages are irreversible and beyond repair and pose a grave setback to our efforts toward and our goal of Canadian Multiculturalism. Most of us are more than aware that Canada's strength and Canada's future lie in the pluralistic ethnocultural make-up of our Canadian society; equality of all members of our society must be recognized both in terms of enjoyment of rights, and in terms of the obligations that belonging to that society imposes. Communication media are such powerful conveyors of information in our present day society that they should carry with them a more than average obligation of seriously safeguarding the equality and dignity of all individual members of our society with a firm commitment to work for equal treatment of all Canadians and to work against discrimination.

We hope, by presenting an audio-visual point by point analysis of 'Campus Giveaway' to the CRTC, that the Commission will resolve to place more emphasis on qualitative regulation rather than quantitative control and will provide more explicit guidelines whereby

1. Ethnic minority rights and images will receive adequate protection from unfair and unjust attacks or treatment by broadcasters;

2. The Canadian public will be ensured of fair and accurate reporting on issues of public concern;

3. Canadian content will embrace a wide scope of subject matters besides mere news, sports and a few documentaries.

This presentation is an appeal to the ongoing power of supervision granted to CRTC in the Broadcasting Act. It is hoped that the CRTC will attempt to formulate constructive guidelines which will be helpful in the development of a standard of public information in broadcasting, including the need for balanced content and fair and accurate reporting on matters of public concern. In particular, Canadian content should mean a cross section of subject matters that will reflect the diversity of Canadian interests, Canadian people and the Canadian society, instead of portraying Canadians as news watchers and sports fans only. It is the subject matter and its treatment that should be considered the essence of 'CONTENT,' not technicalities of where or through whom the 'content' is put to production.

CRTC had stated in the December 31, 1979 public announcement that the obvious shortcomings have been most evident in the choice made by Canadians in their viewing of English language entertainment programmes. It could very well be that the English language entertainment programmes had failed to reflect true Canadian cultural, political, social and economic fabric by lacking in proper choice of subject matters that are relevant and sensitive to the entire cross section of Canadian people.

Finally, we wish to reaffirm our belief that the soul of a nation lies in the components of its people; the multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural fabric of our Canadian society has every potential of reaching an unsurpassed richness in establishing our Canadian identity. But unless we educate ourselves about our diversities, unless we make a concerted effort to better understand and appreciate our differences, all that potentiality will go to waste. It is the duty of every individual and of the governments to see to it that positive steps are taken towards such a goal.

The communication media in general, and television broadcasters in particular, have within their power an unmatched, unequalled and incomparable means of achieving the objective 'to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada.' To achieve such an objective, it is imperative that the content of Canadian programmes reflect the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of our society. We, the public, earnestly urge the CRTC to spell out details regarding areas of interests relevant to the Canadian viewer's historic and cultural background, his present search for identity, and his aspirations for the future. We suggest that multicultural productions, in forms of dramas or series — light or serious — portraying heros of non-English and non-French origins, or depicting positive aspects of ethnic contribution throughout the Canadian history,be encouraged and promoted. We further suggest that broadcasters seriously pursue accurate research on ethnic material and actively seek out ethnic talents to ensure accuracy and fairness in imparting their in-

formation to the public. In addition, there should be a monitoring body or a Multicultural advisory board for counselling and inquiries pertaining to 'media and the ethnic image.' To conclude, we reiterate that mere allotment of a percentage of time for Canadian content is insufficient in attaining the objective of 'meaningful' Canadian content; detailed specifications must be laid down by the CRTC and such specifications be geared towards priority of quality and content as opposed to the quantitative approach.

May we hope that our request for presentation on 'Canadian Content' at the coming CRTC public hearing and our application for a CRTC special hearing on 'Balanced Programming' be given due consideration.

Attached is a copy of a point by point analysis of W5's programme 'Campus Giveaway.' A copy of the audio-visual presentation will be forwarded to you upon completion.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Irene Chu
for
The Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario
The Ad Hoc Committee of C.C.C.O. Against W5
17 Cachet Parkway, Gormley, Ontario. LOH 1GO
Tel: 416 887-5133

POINT BY POINT REBUTTAL OF 'CAMPUS GIVEAWAY'

Transcript of W5 'Campus Giveaway' Aired September 30, 1979	Point by Point Analysis
Co-host Helen Hutchinson:	
'Here is a scenario that would make a great many people in this country angry and resentful.	The opening statement shows deliberate intent to incite negative feelings.
Suppose your son or daughter wanted to be an engineer, or a doctor, or a pharmacist. Suppose he had high marks in high school, and that you could pay the tuition — but he still couldn't get into University in his chosen courses because a foreign student was taking his place. Well, that is exactly what is happening in this country.	The Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) published a comprehensive study, Statistics Canada has published information, most Universities have conducted their own studies...all of the findings agree on the fact that International Students are not taking places from Canadian students (Ref. 5). 'It seems that a combination of Canadian nationalism and the need for restraint in public spending have initiated a reaction at the government level and in the university community. As Michael Oliver, President of Carleton, has pointed out, the ethnic tension and racial prejudices which have recently surfaced in some communities reflect a misunderstanding of the composition of the non-white student body, which includes Canadian citizens and landed immigrants, as well as foreign students. At the Third World Student Conference even though some public concern about foreign students was considered legitimate, it was repeatedly stressed that they are in danger of becoming scapegoats for

general dissatisfaction with the growing cost of government and the many social and economic programmes it supports. Such controversy overlooks the important contribution of foreign students to Canada's cultural life and the recognition Canada receives abroad for these efforts ' (Ref. 7).

W5 chose to build its premise on a misconception which has no factual basis. At best, this programme can only be classified as 'slanted social commentary disguised as a news programme.'

'But hardly anyone wants to talk about it. It is not hard to understand why the public hasn't been given a chance to debate the foreign student problem. The statistics that show it is a problem aren't easy to find. Here are some:

'Foreign Students' do not pose the kind of problems as claimed by W5; naturally, W5 was unable to find the kind of statistics it was looking for. W5 did have the March 1978 study prepared by Dr. Max Von Zur-Muchlen of Statistics Canada. A more recent study was released in September 1979 by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada/Council of Ontario Universities, a copy of which was sent to W5.

'Campus Giveaway' was not a debate on foreign students; it was a predetermined, biased, one-sided accusation.

at least 100,000 foreign students in our schools;

There are 55,000 foreign students in Canada, at all levels of education, including some 20,000 in fulltime university studies (Ref. 3). The 1978 study gave a total of 23,489 fulltime foreign students in universities in Canada. The fuller 1979 analysis gives the number of visa students as 18,304.

'The programme threw around the figure of 100,000 foreign students with curious abandon — at one point

saying the 100,000 were 'in our schools,' and at another, that the 100,000 were 'on our campuses' (Ref. 4).

at least one out of 10 students in B.C., Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia are foreign — and the ratio is much higher in Ontario and Quebec;

Fulltime visa students in Canadian universities increased from 3.0% in 73-74 to 5.3% in 77-78. The percentage of foreign students at Canadian universities is markedly lower than in the United Kingdom and France, where proportions were greater than 10% for fulltime university students.

Foreign students in universities in relation to total full and parttime enrolment:

Province	**76-77**	**77-78**
Newfoundland	1.6%	1.9%
Prince Edward Island	2.5%	2.6%
Nova Scotia	6.0%	6.6%
New Brunswick	2.8%	3.2%
Quebec	5.7%	5.8%
Ontario	5.0%	5.1%
Manitoba	4.7%	5.5%
Saskatchewan	7.4%	6.7%
Alberta	5.7%	5.7%
British Columbia	4.0%	4.4%
Total	5.1%	5.3%

at least 20 percent of kids in high technology courses (engineering, computer science) are foreign, while these courses are turning down thousands of young Canadians.

The Engineering and Applied Science category does have the largest number of non-Canadians which is hardly surprising since many are from developing countries. In 76-77, visa students accounted for 10.3% of the total in this category in Canada. But such courses are not turning down thousands of young Canadians. A quick survey suggests that there are still places in most engineering faculties, although naturally not in those few which are currently most sought after. The U of T, which W5 used for purposes of illustration, has a 5% quota for visa students in

Engineering. There is even less pressure on Computer Science and places are available (unfortunately, comparatively few Canadians elect the mathematical pre-requisites).

Foreign students in fulltime undergraduate high technology courses 76/77.

Faculty	Foreign Std.	Total	%
Engineering			
Applied Sc.	2,427	25,823	9.4%
Health professions	394	17,928	2.2%
Medicine	72	7,545	0.95%

U of T statistics 79/80

Medicine	9	1,024	0.88%
Engineering	152	2,508	5.9%

Barbara Allan has been working on and off in her father's St. Catherines, Ontario, pharmacy since she was 12. She graduated from high school with 79.5%. Good marks, but not high enough to get into pharmacy at University of Toronto. When Barbara saw the pharmacy class, she couldn't believe it.

Barbara Allan did not obtain 79.5% in the pre-requisite subjects required for admission to Pharmacy at U of T.

There is *no* visa student in U of T's first-year Pharmacy class. Displayed on screen the first-year Pharmacy class students shown were:

	Landed Immigrant	Canadian Citizen
1. Teresa Chu	1970	1975
2. Doris Ng	1973	1977
3. Jennifer Lee	Canadian	
4. Faye Wong	1971	1978
5. Betty Cheung	1974	1978
6. Steven Ng	1968	1973

Although only 165 of a thousand applicants qualify, students from overseas make up 10 to 30 percent of the class. The difference lies in whether you believe the official statistics or the estimates of the students.

University of Toronto states that there were 652 applicants. The faculty of Pharmacy admits only Ontario residents and there are no visa students. Pharmacy in U of T 1979-80 has 690 students but only one student holding student visa who is in graduate school which counts for 0.14% of the total student body (Ref. 1 & Ref. 8).

Student 1: 'All these people are in, and you're just — you're knocked out of a seat. You are not getting the education that you feel you should be, because it's just — the class are just packed with foreign students.'

Are non-white students necessarily foreign students?

Barbara Allan: 'When someone talks about doing something for the longest time — and they work for it — and then someone else says "Well, no, I'm sorry you just can't do this," it hurts — it hurts a lot.'

Helen Hutchinson: 'Barbara is studying honours History now at a surburban University of Toronto campus, and thinking about going into Law. But she still thinks about what she really wanted to do.'

Barbara Allan: 'You go through the nurse stage, the secretary stage, all little girls want to be this. But I've always wanted to be a pharmacist. I mean, what can I say? I drew pictures of being a pharmacist when I was little. It's always been something I've wanted to be.'

Disappointments always hurt; but she should face the truth that she did not qualify to be admitted to Pharmacy and not somebody else had deprived her of a place.

Helen Hutchinson: 'Barb Allan is not a racist. It's the policy she's fighting not the participants. And she isn't alone. A university admission officer says, privately, that "Canada is being suckered as a nation by countries which won't pay for education themselves." '

Here is one of the instances where the programme insinuated in its choice of film as well as in what it said, that any student who is non-white, is a foreign student. In showing pictures of non-whites, W5 suggests that they are all 'foreigners.' It does not recognize the possibility that an oriental face can belong to a Canadian citizen,

Barbara Allan: 'They talk about minorities in Canada, alright, so that you're — you want to give the other guy a chance too, but charity begins at home, doesn't it. Like you have to work at — within the country first and build up your own country and — and then you can work with other people.'

Helen Hutchinson: 'We are not saying we should rid our universities of outside influences. We are saying that as long as qualified Canadian students can't get into schools, the foreign students' programme has gone too far. And make no mistake — this is not charity or even legitimate foreign aid. Study after study shows that we are educating the children of the wealthy.

And 60 percent of the students are from southeast Asia, 30 percent from Hong Kong — places which apply strict quotas on education.

Here is how the problem is growing. Students come to Canada to repeat their final years of high school. Many go to $5,000 a year private schools. Across the country,

whose family may have been in Canada for several generations. A foreigner is anyone who looks foreign, and 'Canada is being suckered as a nation' by other countries. Such manipulative use of words juxtaposed with pictures, appeals to the worst instincts of an audience.

Canadians with visible racial characteristics are none the less Canadians too. They, too, consider Canada their home and their own country.

Students identified:
Florence, York University, Visa Student
Catherine Sun, U of T, Visa student

Nearly all the foreign students are in programmes already accomodating all qualified Canadians. The oversubscribed programmes such as medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and law are closed to foreign students under most circumstances; only Canadians are admitted. So while there are Canadian students who cannot get into the programme of their choice, they are being kept out by lack of spaces overall, not by foreign students (Ref. 3).

Toronto Star **Editorial:**

Foreign students in Canada

Europe, U.S.S.R.	32.2%
Hong Kong, Taiwan	22.0%
U.S.A.	18.2%

30 such schools have recently been established to serve the foreign influx. The students enter on special visas, but easily become landed immigrants, if they need to, in order to get into courses which restrict enrolment. Many take courses they have already taken at home, getting excellent marks, Canada is the only country we know of which accepts students so easily as immigrants. And educators tell us that most are temporary immigrants — they are here to get a university education, learn English, and leave.

Prior to 1973 it might have been easy for visa students to apply for landed immigrant status; but since 1973 it has been virtually impossible unless, for example a revolution overturns the government at home and the student becomes a refugee.

Statement by the Honourable Bud Cullen, Minister of Employment and Immigration, November 22, 1976:

'Once admitted, visitors may not normally change their status, e.g., a person admitted as a tourist may not take a job, become a student, or a permanent resident. Temporary workers who change jobs and students who change their course of study without proper authorization, and all visitors who remain beyond the period for which they were admitted will be subject to removal.'

Last year, every student from this school (a private school is shown) went directly into an applied science or business course at college or university. So courses such as computer science are dominated by foreign students. At least one student in five, often more, is foreign. While we don't have enough computer scientists in Canada to meet our demands.

Computer Science Chairman at U of T said: 'We have no problem re visa students.'

These are first-year medical students registering at the University of Toronto. Thousands of Canadian students, who can't get into medicine, are forced to study in private foreign schools. While in Canadian schools,

In 1976-77, among all medical students, only 1.1%, i.e., 83 students, are foreign. 27 were in 1st year, 45 in intermediate years and 11 were graduates. Among all universities with a medical school, 1. Alberta, 2. Manitoba, 3. Ottawa, 4. Queen's, 5. Western, 6. Laval,

almost 400 students are foreign.

7. Montreal, 8. Sherbrook, 9. Saskatchewan, do not have foreign students. In U of T, only 9 visa students among 1,024 in 79-80. Only two visa students (from Iran) in a first-year medical class of 256. In 78-79 there were 85 visa students in medical schools across Canada, 66 of whom were from the U.S.

'Engineering and applied science. 20 percent of the students are foreign, and there're twice as many visa students as landed immigrants — students who must leave Canada. So we are not only exporting knowledge and technology but engineers who will go home and compete with our industries.
By teaching the elite of other lands, we relieve those countries of the burden of supporting schools of their own. Only five percent of the students in education are foreign, so few are going back to contribute to education at home.'

76/77 legal status of Engineering students in Canada:

Total No.	Landed Immigrant	%	Visa Student	%
Under-graduate 25,825	2,247	8.7	2,427	9.4
Master 2,104	507	24.1	553	26.4
Ph. D. 877	357	40.7	212	24.2
Total in Canada 28,804	3,111	10.8	3,192	11.08

79/80 University of Toronto Engineering:

Visa student	Total No.	%
152	2,598	5.9

(Ref. 8)

John Helliwell: 'I agree. There is a preponderance. Uh, ya know, there's a significant number — very, very significant number in courses like Engineering — like business and commerce. Uh, yah, that, that's part of the problem.'

John Helliwell was quoted out of context. Only a few seconds of material out of a 40 minute interview was used.

Helen Hutchinson: 'John Helliwell is the foreign affairs director of the Canadian Bureau for

International Education. He calls himself the lobbyist for the foreign students, but when he looks over the more than 100,000 foreign students on our campuses — when he sees that bulletin boards in science departments are bilingual (showing Chinese script signs) he still refuses to admit the obvious effect of the influx...How can you be so sure that some Canadian kid hasn't missed a place at one of these universities or colleges that's been filled by a foreign student?'

Canada is proud of its multicultural society. No one has to apologize for the retention of his mother tongue.

Screen shows Chinese Engineering Student Association Orientation meeting in September, 1979 at International Student Centre.

John Helliwell: 'Well, I have — nobody has ever given me any evidence that that has happened.'

Helen Hutchinson: 'It wasn't hard for us to find Barbara Allan. And she knows of others with first class high school marks who have been refused admission to university. So do we. And so do professors and admissions personnel who complain bitterly to us, off the record, but refuse to talk publicly because they're afraid of being called racist. But money talks. Barb's father, Robert Allan, is paying taxes that support the student who took his daughter's place in school. There are no education taxes in Hong Kong. None. There are here.'

Barbara Allan was refused admission to Pharmacy only, not university.

All landed immigrants and Canadian citizens pay taxes too. The parents of all the Pharmacy students in U of T pay taxes just as Robert Allan does.

The entire taxation system in Hong Kong is totally different from the

Mr. Allan: 'Over 50% of my property tax dollar goes towards education, I know that.'

Helen Hutchinson: 'Robert Allan is hardly a racist. He's an understandably upset parent, and concerned taxpayer.'

tax system here. It is neither relevant nor appropriate to compare the two tax systems here: however, the education cost in Hong Kong is absorbed by the government who pays it from its general revenue which directly or indirectly comes from the residents.

Mr. Allan: 'I see that the government is giving grants of millions and millions of dollars to universities — which is fine — but I feel that our own people should have preference over the use of those tax dollars, rather than other people.'

We reiterate that Canadians with visible racial characteristics are also Canada's own people.

Don McInnis: 'When I was president of the college, various pharmacists had contacted me — uh, in fact their sons or daughters couldn't get in to pharmacy.'

Helen Hutchinson: 'Don McInnis has been on many school admission boards. He's angry about the system and its silent critics.'

There is no regulation that pharmacists' children would be given priority to enter Pharmacy.

Don McInnis: 'And the anger is focussed on the fact that here, uh, codes that are for laudable purposes, to help protect minority groups from, uh, blatant discrimination, is having entirely opposite effect. And, in fact, it's discriminating now against the students of Ontario citizens themselves, and this is what makes me so angry — that nothing has been done — or they say

Minority groups in Canada are committed to the same obligations as every other Canadian. Likewise they are entitled to the same rights enjoyed by all Canadians.

Ontario citizens include all residents of Ontario regardless of their racial background.

nothing can be done — I don't believe that that is so. So I think something can and should be done.'

Helen Hutchinson: 'The government sponsored Canadian Bureau of International Education says it's good for us to allow foreign students into Canada. First, they bring in money — it's true they bring in money for their tuition and for their keep — but remember tuition accounts for only 20 percent of the entire cost of educating a student. The rest comes from grants and our taxes. A seemingly more important rationale is that it's part of our foreign aid. But to us, the time and money spent educating the elite of the third world here, could be better spent helping the needy there. The poor. The illiterate.

It's also argued that foreign students will go home and trade with Canada. But this has never been the case before.

Or, that Canadian students will benefit from contact with other cultures.

'The education of foreign students can be regarded as a long-term investment, of which only the short-term costs are visible, and ultimate benefits difficult to quantify' (Ref. 7, p. 109).

'If the average expenditure per student, according to formula financing, is used to calculate the educative cost of foreign students, the national total is about $200 million a year. This figure is large because foreign students are concentrated at the graduate level and in expensive programmes like engineering...A further complication in calculating the cost of educating students is that universities have three basic functions: teaching, research and service to the community. Since it is almost impossible to separate the cost of each function, there is a tendency to attribute the total cost to the education of students. But legitimately, only the teaching function should be charged against them...Therefore, the $200 million figure mentioned before might be reduced to $100 million.

A less tangible consideration is that foreign graduate students, especially Ph.D. candidates, are involved in the creation of knowledge that benefits Canada. Although it cannot be quantified, this should be taken into account when expenditures on foreign students are examined.

Another benefit that is difficult to quantify is the cosmopolitan atmosphere that foreign students

lend to Canadian educational institutions. Moreover, some foreign students will become political, professional and managerial leaders in their own countries and their education here likely leads to a certain attachment to Canada and an understanding of our culture. '...foreign students have a positive impact on Canada's balance of payments. Commission of Employment and Immigration regulations stipulate that each foreign student should have at least $3,500 for educational and living expenses. This amounts to around $175 million to be spent in Canada. Moreover, because some bring spouses and children, the total spent here by "private" foreign students is likely closer to $200 million. This figure has a multiplier effect on the Canadian economy, and helps offset the cost of their education' (Ref. 7, p. 87-8).

But there are so many oriental foreign students that they rarely mix with their Canadian classmates. It's as if there are two campuses at Canadian universities — foreign and domestic. Certainly this Chinese theatre attracts a full house, but not one Canadian student attended.'

Racism.

Orientation meeting for first year Chinese Canadian students at International Student Centre. Out of the 8 students identified on the screen 6 are Canadians: Ho Shui Ming, Victoria Chu, Mr. Chan, Lilian Ma, Christina Chu, Hilian Yu. The 2 visa students are: Choi Che Keung, and Chin Kwok Wing.

Female Student No. 1: 'I went to the University of Manitoba last year, and it was like 70 percent are foreign students.'

W5 fails to make any distinction between the foreign students and Canadian students of Chinese origin.

By imparting such inaccurate information to the viewing public,

Male Student No. 1: 'Foreign students? A lot.'

Male Student No. 2: 'We think it's a little more than it should be.'

Female Student No. 2: 'If people who want to get in aren't being accepted because of foreign students being accepted over them, then I resent that.'

John Helliwell: 'Uh, we certainly are aware of — of — of Canadian students complaining.'

CTV has invited hostility and resentment towards all visible minorities and especially towards Canadians of Chinese origin.

Helen Hutchinson: 'We don't argue with John Helliwell when he praises the diligence of foreign students. But we do, when he demeans Canadians.'

John Helliwell realizes that most of those diligent students are indeed Canadians and not foreign students.

John Helliwell: 'Should we be admitting sub-standard Canadians, or should we be seeking to encourage the Canadian to excel by increasing the stimulus around him?'

Helen Hutchinson: 'Sub-standard Canadians? Reactions such as that inspired Barbara Allan to talk with us — and almost sent a first class honour student to the United States — a country which allows only a third per capita the number of foreign students that we do.'

Barbara Allan: 'I considered going to the University of Buffalo for pharmacy.

Universities should always strive to achieve excellence.

I applied. Um, I went and I looked over everything and I realized that um I had an even less chance of getting in there than I did at the U of T. They don't accept foreign students very readily, and I'll be a foreign student.'

University of Toronto does not accept foreign student to Pharmacy at all.

Helen Hutchinson:
'We estimate it will cost Canadians about $1 billion to educate these 100,000 foreign students. Kids whose families, still abroad, escape much of the education burden in their own country. One Hong Kong boy at an Ontario community college said that he likes studying in Canada because it's so cheap. We think the costs both in money and the futures of our kids, is much too high.'

The $1 billion figure is totally unfounded. Presumably W5 is estimating $10,000 for each of its 'more than 100,000 on our campuses' and compounds the error in arriving at the cost.

Norman Kwan
Irene Chen

AN AUDIO-VISUAL ANALYSIS OF "CAMPUS GIVEAWAY"

VIDEO	AUDIO
News footage: Protest march	SYNC. CHANTING: (15")
	STEPHEN LEWIS (V.O.) This is part of the public outrage that followed a CTV telecast in the fall of 1979 — a W5 item charging that Canadian Universities are over-crowded with foreign students — particularly with Chinese students. The programme was so insulting... its facts so distorted and its assumptions so racist, that protests immediately came from ethnic groups, universities and governments. Leading the protest was Toronto's Chinese community.
Audience at rally	
Wilson Head, President, National Black Coalition	HEAD: (START V.O. AUDIENCE) You are doing what every other minority group has had to do, whether it's the Irish...whether it's the Jews...whether it's the Indians... the Blacks...or any other group has had to do. You are facing the fact that in this country there is a great deal of bigotry.
audience applauding	IMAI: (V.O. audience) Whatever affects Chinese Canadians affects all Canadians.
George Imai, National President, Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association	(O.C.) My fervent prayer and demand is that the CTV network will get their heads out of the sand and realize that Canada was built by many peoples; and that the reality of Canada is a nation of many peoples...and they will retract and will not make any other false propaganda racist programme such as 'Campus Giveaway.' (APPLAUSE)

audience FREEZE STEPHEN LEWIS

(CHANGE ANGLE)

STEPHEN: I'm Stephen Lewis, and I am part of this protest because I agree: racism is dangerous not only to the community it attacks, but to all communities. I would like to show you what happens when television journalism lapses into irresponsible journalism. On September 30th, 1979, the CTV programme W5 aired an item called Campus Giveaway. This is how it began.

MONITOR: HELEN HUTCHINSON

HELEN: 'Here is a scenario that would make a great many people in this country angry and resentful. Suppose your son or daughter wanted to be an engineer, or a doctor, or a pharmacist. Suppose he had high marks in high school, and that you could pay the tuition...but he still couldn't get into University in his chosen courses because a foreign student was taking his place. Well, that is exactly what is happening in this country.'

FREEZE ON HELEN: PAN TO STEPHEN

STEPHEN: That is exactly what is *not* happening in this country. What *has* made a great many people angry and resentful was the racism that ran through this whole W5 item. To begin with, international students are *not* taking places from Canadian students. This is clear in reports published by Statistics Canada, in studies done by Canadian Universities and in a comprehensive, up-to-date report released by the Canadian Bureau for International Education. Yet, with all this information available, W5 went on to say this:

MONITOR: FREEZE ENDS

HELEN: 'But hardly anyone wants to talk about it. It's not hard to understand why the public hasn't been given a chance to debate the foreign student problem. The

statistics that show it is a problem aren't easy to find. Here are some: at least 100,000 foreign students in our schools.'

FREEZE ON HELEN
SUPER: 100,000?

STEPHEN: That is simply not true. There are *not* 100,000 foreign students in our schools — but approximately half that number.

FADE: SUPER: 55,000 students all levels

The most recent figures show 55,000 students in Canada on student visas, at all levels of education. And in Canadian Universities, which is where this W5 item focussed its attention, the number of fulltime students visiting Canada from other nations is only 20,000...5% of the students on our campuses.

SUPER: 20,000 fulltime students in Canadian Universities
SUPER: 5%
STEPHEN

W5 has already admitted that its figures were wrong. But those false statistics have now gone out to viewers all across the country. That's bad enough, but what followed was even worse...when W5 went on to tell *this* story:

MONITOR: HELEN

HELEN: 'Barbara Allan has been working on and off in her father's St. Catherines, Ontario pharmacy since she was twelve. She graduated from high school with 79.5%. Good marks, but not high enough to get into Pharmacy at the University of Toronto. When Barbara saw the Pharmacy class, she couldn't believe it.'

FREEZE ON HELEN

STEPHEN: The *viewer* was led to believe that the Chinese faces in this class belonged to foreign students. Every student pictured here is a Canadian. Most of them were born in Canada. Some immigrated to Canada and took up Canadian citizenship. But W5, like Barbara Allan, equated Chinese with foreign. Deliberate or not, that's dangerous

...and wrong. The idea that if you're not white, you're not Canadian...or, in some way, you're *less* Canadian... is racist...divisive...and deplorable.

CHANGE ANGLE

Now, W5 maintained that Barbara Allan was kept out of Pharmacy by an influx of foreign students. The fact is, there is not a single foreign student in the entire undergraduate Pharmacy course at the University of Toronto. Only Ontario residents are admitted to the course. Barbara Allan wasn't kept out by the competition of students here on student visas. Her high school average was good, but not good enough. And yet, what did we hear next?

MONITOR: STUDENT

BARBARA: 'All these people are in, and you're just...you're knocked out of a seat. You are not getting the education that you feel you should be, because it's just...the classes are just packed with foreign students.'

FREEZE

STEPHEN: When a student can't tell the difference between a New Canadian and a visitor from another country, it's a sad state of affairs, but at least, it's understandable. When a national television programme makes the same mistake, it's inexcusable...whether it's sloppy reserch or deliberate misrepresentation. The item then went on to exploit the misconceptions of those involved.

MONITOR: ROBERT ALLAN

HELEN: 'Robert Allan is hardly a racist. He's an understandably upset parent and concerned taxpayer.'

MR. ALLAN: 'I see that the government is giving grants of millions and millions of dollars to Universities...which is fine...but

I feel that our own people should have preference over the use of those tax dollars, rather than other people.'

FREEZE

STEPHEN: Other people? Our own people? Barbara Allan's father pays taxes to support Canadian education. So do the parents of every student there in the Pharmacy class at U of T...because every student there is a Canadian regardless of race. That, Mr. Allan may not have realized...but W5 should have known the truth...and what's more important...W5 should have telecast the truth.

MONITOR: HELEN

HELEN: 'Barb Allan is not a racist. It's the policy she's fighting, not the participants. And she isn't alone. A university admissions officer says privately that "Canada is being suckered as a nation by countries that won't pay for education themselves."

FREEZE: PAN TO STEPHEN

STEPHEN: All right...what *is* Canada's policy on students from other countries...visa students. And how does that policy affect Canadian students?

CHANGE ANGLE

To begin with, nearly all of the 20,000 visa students who *are* on Canadian campuses are in courses that already accommodate all qualified Canadian students. The high-demand courses such as medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and law, for the most part, are *closed* to foreign students. With few exceptions, only Canadian students are admitted. So, any Canadian student who can't get into the course of his or her choice is being kept out by lack of space, not by the presence of students from other

nations. But that isn't what W5 asked us to believe.

MONITOR: HELEN AND CLASS

HELEN: 'These are first year medical students registering at the University of Toronto. Thousands of Canadian students who can't get into medicine are forced to study in private foreign schools, while in Canadian schools, almost 400 students are foreign.'

FREEZE: SUPER: 400 (FADES) 85 (FADES)

STEPHEN: FACT: There are not 400 foreign students in Canadian medical schools...there are only 85...66 of these are from the United States.

CHANGE ANGLE

FACT: There are only two foreign students in first year medicine at the University of Toronto. All the rest are Canadians.

MONITOR: HELEN

HELEN: 'Engineering and applied science: 20% of the students are foreign.'

FREEZE: SUPER: 20% (FADES) 9.4%

STEPHEN: FACT: In Canadian engineering and applied science courses, only 9.4% of the students are here on student visas.

CHANGE ANGLE

The figures are low because Canada's policy on international students *does* include quotas and controls, in order to avoid the very situation that W5 tried to persuade us to believe was real.

MONITOR:

HELEN: 'The students enter on special visas, but easily become landed immigrants, if they need to, in order to get into courses which restrict enrolment.'

FREEZE

STEPHEN: Yes, up until 1973, it *was* easy for visa students to apply for landed immigrant status. But *since* 1973, it has been virtually

impossible, unless, for example, a revolution overthrows a student's home government, and creates a student *refugee*.

MONITOR: HELEN: 'We estimate it will cost Canadians about one billion dollars to educate these 100,000 foreign students.'

FREEZE STEPHEN: Well...there aren't 100,000 foreign students in Canada...and the cost to Canadians is nowhere near a billion dollars. It takes about a tenth of that amount to educate our visa students...and most of that cost is offset by the money the students bring into Canada and inject into our economy.

MONITOR: HELEN: 'It's also been argued that foreign students will go home and trade with Canada. But this has never been the case before.'

FREEZE STEPHEN: Not according to Statistics Canada. Their reports point out that some international students become leaders in their own countries, and that Canadians do benefit...from their attachment to our country and from their understanding of our culture.

MONITOR: HELEN: 'Or that Canadian students will benefit from contact with other cultures.'

FREEZE STEPHEN: The benefits may be hard to measure, but they're real — the useful knowledge created by the research done by graduate visa students...the cosmopolitan atmosphere that visitors lend to our Universities.
The true picture isn't *all* positive. Nobody would argue that the foreign student situation is free of

problems. Of course there are problems. And the Chinese community knows that better than anyone. The point is, a more thoughtful, sensitive piece of television journalism could have explored the *real* difficulties, and perhaps helped to resolve them. Instead, we got this kind of exploitative, racist misinformation.

MONITOR:

HELEN: 'But there are so many oriental foreign students that they rarely mix with their Canadian classmates. It's as if there are two campuses at Canadian Universities... foreign and domestic. Certainly this Chinese theatre attracts a full house, but not one Canadian student attended.'

FREEZE

STEPHEN: Not one Canadian? *All* these students are Canadians... Chinese Canadians. There are no white students present because what W5 showed at this point was an orientation meeting for first-year Chinese Canadian students at the University of Toronto's International Student Centre. W5 violated one of the first principles of responsible journalism...by showing one thing, and implying that it was another.

CHANGE ANGLE

W5 deplored the idea of a divided campus...but that is exactly what this kind of racist programming could bring about. The entire item added up to racist propaganda... delivered in the name of freedom of speech.

RALLY: audience

PROF. P. ROSENTHAL: In my views, there should not be freedom of speech to promote race hatred on the airwaves in Canada. (APPLAUSE)

PROF. ROSENTHAL

There are hundreds of students who did not get into the Faculty

of Pharmacy at the University of Toronto. And these students are walking around blaming Chinese students...and that is a lie.

YING HOPE

YING HOPE: I am deeply shocked to think that after having been born here, myself, and having lived my entire life here, that a programme such as CTV's W5 might consider me ...or my children...to be foreign.

DR. GEORGE BANCROFT

DR. BANCROFT: The programme was polluted in fact, polluted in analysis and polluted in assumption. Things that pollute the environmnt must be cleaned up. (APPLAUSE)

FREEZE: (ON AUDIENCE)

STEPHEN

STEPHEN: That is the key...to eradicate the pollution of racism. The CTV network has apologized, and promised another program to give the true picture in our Universities. That *may* help repair the damage done by the initial telecast...but it's not enough. What's even more important...more vital...is to prevent this kind of thing from happening again. Television journalism must be responsible journalism...and never racist journalism. That is why this presentation is being made to the C.R.T.C. ... to urge the Commissioners to consider how to prevent racism on television...and to take action to preserve the integrity of *all* Canadian communities.

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CTV'S PUBLIC APOLOGY: JOINT STATEMENT BY CTV AND AD HOC COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL OF CHINESE CANADIANS IN ONTARIO AGAINST W5

Issued April 16, 1980

CTV and the Ad Hoc Committee of the Council of Chinese Canadians In Ontario Against W5 have held a series of meetings since February 5, concerning the W5 story last September 30th, The Campus Giveaway. That program caused anger, resentment and controversy.

A statement last March 16th by W5 expressing regret over any distress caused to Chinese Canadians was regarded as inadequate by representatives of that community. Both parties agree it did not address the real issue: that the story was racist in tone and effect. W5 has since made clear to the Ad Hoc Committee that it was never its intention to produce a racist program. W5 is issuing a second, more extensive apology on its own initiative which it feels addresses that issue.

The discussions between both parties have been fruitful and have produced a large measure of understanding and goodwill. They have also resulted in a tentative settlement which both parties hope will begin to repair the rift caused between CTV and Chinese Canadians, and which would also be beneficial to our multicultural society as a whole.

The terms of this settlement are confidential for the time being. They will be presented on Sunday, April 20 in Toronto to the National Meeting of Ad Hoc Committees of Chinese Canadians Against W5 from 17 cities across Canada. A further joint statement is likely to be issued on Sunday.

Both parties also wish to thank the Ontario Human Rights Commission for their assistance and for organizing one of their meetings.

On Sunday, March 16th, CTV broadcast an apology for the controversial W5 program, The Campus Giveaway. CTV does not believe that the statement went far enough, especially in answering the widespread belief that the program was racist in tone and effect.

We now wish to issue a further apology to all Chinese Canadians, in particular, and to Canadians of all backgrounds, who felt that we had singled out a minority group for an unfair attack that was based on inaccurate statistics.

As we said on March 16 and we now re-emphasize, the story was largely based upon extrapolations that distorted the actual

statistics. W5 has re-investigated all available data since the story was broadcast and acknowledges that the majority of the research data was incorrect. We were clearly wrong in our presentation of the facts and W5's initial defence of the program.

Right after the program was broadcast our critics — particularly Chinese Canadians and the universities — criticized the program as racist: they were right, although it was never our intention to produce a racist program. There is no doubt that the distorted statistics combined with our visual presentation, made the program appear racist in tone and effect. We share the dismay of our critics that this occurred. We sincerely apologize for the fact that Chinese Canadians were depicted as foreigners, and for whatever distress this stereotyping may have caused them in the context of our multicultural society.

We make this second apology willingly but we wish to go further and to say that we have learned from the experience. As a result of the criticism and our internal investigations, corrective measures have been taken. We believe we have now instituted a better system of checks and balances in respect to editorial content and presentation of programs. We have also reviewed our editorial and management systems and changes have been made, both in those systems and in personnel.

Since the end of October last year, within a few weeks of the program being broadcast, we have actively been trying to give our critics an opportunity to present their views. A follow-up program first contemplated in November and then scheduled for January was stalled by a libel notice. Since then we have initiated and have been holding a series of talks with Chinese Canadian representatives and the Ontario Human Rights Commission to resolve the issue: these have been going on since February and, indeed, are continuing this week.

Finally, we also wish to state for the record that W5, in its 13-year history, has never shied away from controversy. CTV News and W5 have been built upon the highest standards of journalistic integrity. We believe that the record of W5 also illustrates a history of balanced programming: programming which has often given impetus to social reform. We are proud of W5 and the men and women who work diligently to produce this weekly series. We hope that the actions taken to resolve the Campus Giveaway controversy will finally put this issue to rest.

This statement was issued April 16, 1980 by Murray H. Chercover, President and Managing Director of the CTV Television Network.

「文化冲擊」的混亂中找尋「處身之所」的新移民，至於其餘在加拿大出生的則追尋他們的「根」和「精神本源」。所有人感到必須提出自己所關切的問題與困難，必須攜手一起克服由青春期的邊緣跨越至成年時所遇的種種障碍。這個討論會建立一個華裔青年互相溝通的基礎。目前，我們致力於將此溝通的基礎擴張至任何背景的加拿大青年——一個值得推薦的促進多元文化的活動。

結語

自去年十一月召開會議以來，足有十個月了，許多工作完成，許多成果已建樹，安省華人聯會藉此機會向以下各位人仕及團體表示深切的謝忱：

陳國金先生一有遠見地提出「政治醒覺與投入」及「歧視與偏見」作爲兩個討論組的題目，兩者對引入 W-5 問題起了不可或缺的作用；

佐治・班可夫博士，威爾遜・赫特博士，達瑪令甘博士，占姆莎・瑪化華拉博士及佐治・今井先生一積極地參加，並在其後對抗 W-5 的行動中成爲始終不渝的支持者；

加拿大華人學生及研究生聯會，特別是五位學生原告的舊勇表現；

安省華人對抗 W-5 行動委員會各位成員的忠誠投入；

爲數超過六百名的義務工作人員辛勤的工作，使對抗 W-5 行動得以勝利，使全國性組織得以成立，使文化節產生令人滿意的結果；

無數新聞從業人員的借助與合作；

安省文化康樂部部長、安省彩票及內政部多元文化理事會對各項計劃的協助合作及慷慨支助。

期計劃以根除歧視與偏見，及保護所有加拿大人的權利及形象不受損毀－不論其種族背景。在內政部多元文化理事會的資助下，安省華人聯會寄發了一份有關「加拿大內容」及「節目的平衡安排」的簡報，呈上「加拿大播音及電視通訊調查委員會」(Canadian Radio - Television Telecommunications Commission)。迄今，這份簡報仍未有正式答覆，然而其中分析「校園大平賣」的電視片部份有十分良好的反應，許多教育家及民權領袖對這份具教育性的有關不負責任新聞業務的文獻大表歡迎。

加拿大華人文化節

對抗 W-5 行動使許多過去陶醉於現狀的人驚醒過來，此後自覺性的曙光照耀了華人社區，「投入與行動」成爲「W-5 一代」的座右銘，許多人在想及 W-5 之際，嚴格地自我檢討，認眞地研究使華裔加人被命名爲「外國人」的基本原因，發現缺乏溝通與瞭解是引起偏見與歧視的根由。爲根除種族主義，必須教育大衆。隨着對抗 W-5 行動之結束及全加華人平權協進會之成立，義務工作人員繼而將精力集中在大衆教育上。

經過數月頻密與緊張的工作，全加華人平權協進會及安省華人聯會在一九八〇年九月五日至七日假多倫多湖濱的約克中心舉辦了加拿大華人文化節。

文化節是紀念早被遺忘的華裔鐵路勞工在一八八〇年代建造加拿大太平洋鐵路的百週年，亦是展示新一代華人的建樹，以文化節的主席李懷敏的話來說，文化遺產的總和有助於確定華裔加人的精神。

文化節內容包括歷史圖片展覽，當代藝術展覽，民間工藝示範，文娛演出，中國菜，視聽藝術，時裝與服飾表演等等節目，吸引了約二萬五千名觀衆，是一個安排完善的、成功的、美譽四溢的、富教育意義的一項大規模活動，既有意思，大家又可以開心，確實是踏向多元文化的一步。

青少年討論會

「八十年代的青少年」是一個由華人社區服務工作人員小組與安省華人聯會合辦的小型會議，係在一九八〇年三月廿九日假中央技術學校舉行。該討論會以交談的形式進行，參加者多數是華裔的加拿大青少年，其中許多是在

一九八〇年一月廿六日，千餘人在多倫多大學的教育院參加了反對 W-5 的集會；至正午，人數增至二千六百人。諸色人士，扶老携少，在寒風中出發，遊行至 CTV 的總辦公室。秩序整然，而情緒高昂，表現了空前的團結。

同一日，在愛門頓及卡其利的行動委員會聯合在愛門頓舉辦類似的較小型的遊行，其後在溫哥華亦示威聲援。華裔加人終於投入了反對歧視與不公的戰圈。

行動如火如荼般在全國蔓延，行動委員會像雨後春笋般在各地成立。二月五日，CTV 的當事人與多倫多的行動委員會第一次接觸，展開了談判。

三月十六日，CTV 未曾與華人社區商討，即發表了一項對「校園大平賣」表示遺憾的聲明，指出節目的統計數字不準確。行動委員會認爲這份半道歉式的聲明未能針對問題的中心，祇是一種敷衍手段，因此不接納。談判於是繼續進行。

至四月十六日，CTV 的總裁摩利・卓可化 (Murray Chercover) 發表了一份全面的公開道歉，一個龐大的廣播機構公開地向少數民族道歉，是有史以來第一次，亦是加拿大少數民族爭取平等權利歷史上的空前勝利。

全加華人平權協進會

在對抗 W-5 運動所引發的事物中，一個全國性的華人組織的產生，無疑是意義最重大的具體結果。

經過六個月的行動，十六個城市對抗 W-5 的行動委員會感到急切須要建立一個全國性的團體，以便集中處理有關「人權」及「媒介與溝通」兩方面的問題。

在四月十八日至二十日，代表多倫多的委員會主持了一個全國性的會議，參加者爲來自全國十六個城市華裔加人對抗 W-5 行動委員會的代表。四月二十日，全加華人平權協進會宣佈正式成立。

呈上 CRTC 的報告：「加拿大的內容及節目的平衡安排」。

經過 W-5 事件後，人們漸漸明白，「大衆媒介與少數民族的形象」成爲一些致力於加拿大多元文化主義而帶有強烈正義感的人士所最關切的一個大問題，尤其是我們那些有顯著少數民族特徵的人，感到急須有建設性行動的長

會後記

趙瑜評述

由於會議本身的意義往往不及其後所產生的影響重大，因此，要具體地、確切地對會議作出評價，補述會後所發生的大事，是不可或缺的外一章。

對抗 W-5 行動

無可置疑，對抗 W-5 行動是在這次會議冲擊下所發生的最重要的事件。該行動可以說是加拿大少數民族在爭取平等權利的歷史上的轉戾點。就其規模之大，及其結束之圓滿，安省華人聯會不能居功，然而說整個行動係以十一月的會議作起點，亦不爲過份。

一九七九年九月卅日，電視台 CTV 在社會新聞的節目裏播映了一段十二分鐘的短片，叫「校園大平賣」，旨在影射所謂「外國學生」取替了「加拿大學生」，又將中國留學生與華裔加拿大學生混爲一談。節目播映後，立即引起了社會各界的強烈反應，其中態度最爲明朗的是各院校的學生團體及校方。至於華人社區，當時大部份人錯過收看該節目，或未曾留意到事態的嚴重性。

加拿大華人學生及研究生聯會（多倫多）盡其所能，直接向社區籲請支持他們向 CTV 告以誹謗罪的法律行動。他們在會場呼籲，獲得會衆的響應，日後推動了社區，更發展至全國。學生們在這次會議中的表現，成爲整個華人社區反對種族歧視的濫觴。

十一月下旬，安省華人聯會對抗 W-5 行動委員會在多倫多成立。經過一段調整的時期，行動委員會鞏固起來，包括以下各委員：王裕佳，朱大璋，馬欣欣，關卓中，關豪光，關洽，鄭天寶，譚家俊，李恒輝，鍾焯光，曾啓榮，趙健仁，陳曾亮。由於行動委員會對學生原告無條件的支持，整個行動雖受到打擊及恐嚇，仍能渡過不少難關，始終貫徹。在志願工作人員不屈不怠的奮戰下，對抗 W-5 的消息在政界人士、民權領袖及社區份子之間散播，推動所有加拿大人加入行動。數以百計的支持者獻出他們寶貴的時間及精力一起工作，各大城市的華人社區開始建立了通訊網，成爲一個提高政治醒覺、促進平等權利，反對不負責任新聞業務的壯舉。反應遠超當初的打算。

我們不該滿足於過去的成就。我們的先輩在一百二十年前抵達此地，到今日已經歷了一段漫長的路程。許多人已「大功告成」。可是，若中止了平等地位的爭取，我們會回復到一百二十年前的困境。讓我舉一實例來說明。在四十年代，日裔加人從沒有提出過爲什麼受到不同待遇的問題。政府頒佈了戰時特別法令後，自滿與幻想粉碎了，不是德人或意人，單是日人被關進拘留營，祇有日本人被目爲「危及國家安全」。

這件事會重演嗎？在一九七〇年十月，魁北克局勢緊張的時候，再次頒佈了戰時法令。讓我提醒你們，萬一發生什麼，我們所有人會陷於四二年時日裔加人所陷的慘況。我們不欲見一九四二年的歷史重演，讓我們一起提高政治醒覺、多點參與政治罷。

青少年及政治參與

關卓中

我想跟大家講在北美洲的亞洲裔人參政的歷史發展。

首先，我所用的「參政」這名詞並非狹義地單指投票或競選，而是廣義地包括我們日常生活的許多方面，甚至飲食也可以是政治！大家記得，在溫哥華發生的燒臘事件，我從未見過華人在政治問題上更團結過。

當初，在六十年代末期，很多亞裔青年覺察到，不能根除亞裔在北美居次等地位的情形。因此，許多亞裔，特別是第二代和第三代的，發起了一個爭取權利和平等待遇的運動。在三藩市州立大學及柏克萊的加州大學舉辦的「第三世界罷工罷課」，使亞裔的政治醒覺更形顯著。

過去十年來，我們南邊的同裔取得了不少成就。例如，今年四月我在三藩市參加了亞裔美人雙語言教育的第一次大會。正值加拿大政府削減了作爲第二語言的英語課程的經費之同時，亞裔美人得到了美國最高法院所認許的實施雙語教育的權利，這就是提高醒覺後參與政治的成果。

亞裔加人運動可能是效法亞裔美人的做法。華裔和日裔加人已在溫哥華合作了一段時期，集體經營廣播電台，訓練班，作家和藝術家協會，以及由年輕亞裔人負責傳統式的社團。

就多倫多本地來說，我想談一個我本人介入的一項計劃。一年半前，一羣亞裔加人成立了一個「亞細亞拿大資料組」，主要計劃是出版一份名爲「亞細亞拿大」的雜誌，希望成爲第一份全國性的亞裔加人雜誌。我們決定站在對抗種族主義的立場上，爲亞裔加人提供一個發言的園地。出版後反應良好，東及英屬哥倫比亞，西至紐芬蘭，證實亞裔人之間合作的可能，表明我們華人不再是內向的，而是提高了政治醒覺的一羣。

今後我們何去何從呢？我們華裔該如何配合這個稱爲多元文化的社會？加拿大的多元文化政策，在理論上是個很先進的概念，但實行起來又是另一回事，依我看，多元文化對少數民族祇是形式上的承認、推動「歌舞昇平」的哲學－即保持文化而沒有經濟或政治實力。「隨你們跳自己的民族舞踏，穿著你們傳統的服飾，但要安份守己。」這就是我們所得的告誡，對付它的唯一途徑是發展我們集體的政治意識。

總結來說，機構性種族主義起着經濟上的作用，移民是廉價勞力的來源，但在經濟不景時，他們往往成爲代罪羔羊，被怪責爲攫奪了「加拿大人」的機會，增加了福利金的費用，因此，要明白種族主義意識，少數民族的展望，以及有效地對付種族主義，必須審查加拿大的經濟實況及經濟關係。

的，那末，由這民族產生的任何事物，無論是專業性雜誌或藝術品，都會投以懷疑的眼光。當一位外貌有顯著特徵的少數民族人士在他或她的祖家發表文章時，一般就以爲是由於兩者有「關連」，但是，若一位「加拿大人」在同一份雜誌上發表文章的話，就認爲他或她在國際上建立了聲譽。那位學術界的高層人士說的代表了社會中普遍抱有的偏見態度，這就是機構性種族主義。

一個更尖刻的機構式種族主義的例子是電台 CTV 在七九年九月三十日播映的 W-5 節目。作爲秋季電視節目的開端，W-5 在最多人收看電視的時間內播映。CTV 鼓動「非白人即外國學生」的說法，並向觀衆灌輸歪曲的觀點，說是這些「外國學生」在就學機會上取替了「加拿大學生」（暗指白人），花費了「加拿大」納稅人數以百萬計的稅款。這種將外國學生與華人子弟（身份爲公民或移民的）視作同一對象，就是否認後者（華裔學生）爲享有與其他加拿大人或移民有同等權利的合法公民或永久居民。更且，W-5 節目既然是大衆文化的一種表達方式，它不該縱容、鼓勵、發動機構式的種族主義。

現在回到以新加拿大人爲對象的社會服務這一話題上。我們發現在此亦有機構性的種族主義。以上提過，在大戰後的華人移民中，專業性及管理性工作的增加了。但是，大部份華裔加人並非做高薪的工作，根據一九七一年加拿大的統計，華裔加人的平均收入是在全國水平之下。社會或經濟地位較低的人構成加拿大政府提供社會服務的主要對象，因此，入息低微的華人移民似乎應該成爲這些社會服務的對象了。

在移民社會服務的條例中，行政人員或社會工作者往往假定移民的文化背景是個重要的因素，換言之，發生在移民身上的個人，家庭或社會的問題，往往被「標貼」爲不能適應，倚賴性的症候，或文化隔膜。因此，問題往往在不經思考下被當作是個人的缺陷，或更普遍地當作是「異邦文化」所引起。誇大了移民的民族性，就忽視了一項事實本質，即移民的問題出於社會的安排及他們在社會中的位置。要明白移民的一些問題，必須了理低薪、工作缺乏保障、失業及不協調的社會關係等等，特別是支配勞力的市場。這樣，就不難發現華人移民所遇的問題和其他民族所遇的相妨，因而亦與本地出生的加拿大人所遇的相妨。將焦點放在移民的民族性上，祇不過是機構式種族主義的表現，並非解答一些更大更複雜的問題的依據。

移民的社會服務
種族歧視在社會學上的解釋

莎士額徹雲大學社會系
趙瑋

首先我以社會學的角度來討論種族歧視的問題，然後指出在移民社會服務的條例中所表現的種族歧視態度。

當歧視發生在個人之間的有意識的、明目張膽的汚辱時，可稱爲「個人式的種族主義」。種族主義可以通過法制來推行，卽是有系統地歧視居少數的一羣，叫做「機構式的種族歧視」。種族歧視，無論是個人式的或機構式的，往往通過一種意識來自圓其說，卽將少數份子惡意地統稱爲「天生」下等的，歪曲少數份子的形象。

個人式的種族主義，例如投以輕藐之言辭，對受害者來說是件痛苦的事，但是，機構式的種族歧視能夠在教育，就業，諮詢等機會上摒斥數份子遺害更大。華裔加人一直是「機構式種族歧視」的受害者，在一八八五年至一九四七年間，抵制華裔加人或華僑的機構式種族主義得到了法律的撐腰：增設人頭稅，取消華人的投票權（在英屬哥倫比亞省），以及在多種職業競爭上嚴密管制等等，祇是種種惡名昭彰的歧視手法的其中幾種。

在一九四七年，限制華人參與社會與政治活動的法規已除去，但是社會及心理上的限制依然繼續存在。這些限制較爲不明顯，像煙幕一樣，因此較難對付，而且，一九六二年及一九六七年兩度改變了移民法例，從事專業、工程、管理或行政的華人移民湧至，大幅度地更改了華人的就業狀況，以往集中經營的「傳統」營業，例如餐館和洗衣店，漸漸轉移至要求教育程度較高的職業；專業與管理人員的出現，以及大戰後產生的華人白領階級，似乎表示機構式的種族主義已不存在了。但是，隱晦的歧視仍在實施中。讓我舉些例子來說明：

「不發表，就垮掉」（Publish or Perish）是學術界的金科玉律，但是，少數民族在他們自己國家的專業雜誌上發表的論文往往不受重視。我的博士論文是關於香港的工業和社會的發展。我畢業後不久，一位學術界的高層人士告誡我說，如果我的論文在香港發表的話，並非對我最有利。這話帶有歧視的口吻。若果一個少數民族被視爲下等

以上各件個案中的所有求職者均能克服被拒絕所帶來的精神上的創傷而終於找到了工作，其中一部份甚至被擢升到要位。他們有向上心、耐性、紀律、勤苦等等傳統，所以能排除障碍，爲新的找工作的華人鋪下易於被接受的坦途。依法律規定（實際上可能沒有），今日的華人與其他任何種族享有同等的就業機會。

很多華人在得到工作後悉力以赴，在各行業中各展所長。似乎，在一些以技術能力作爲擢升的唯一或重要標準的地方，華人獲得最大的發展，因而，沒有充份證據說歧視與偏見到了猖獗的地步。

在大機構及政府中亦有相當數目的華人担任主管的職位。這些地方仍以技術性的知識爲主，然而大部份升職的都懂得人事交際。似乎有許多具備資格而遭到忽視的華人，原因是否與身爲華人有關則不得而知。雖然歧視存在，但沒有顯著的證據說歧視已猖獗到妨碍升級的程度。

在以交際爲主的較高層的管理部門中，文化上的差異有顯著的影響，在某情形下可能是升級的絆脚石。在高級的管理層中，諸如「他／她如何配合？他／她是我們一份子嗎？」的問題會造成擢升的障碍。如果高級的執政人代表公司或行政組織的形象時，文化背景成爲人選的標準。在大機構或政府任職高位的華人不多，但我仍感到難於判斷歧視與偏見是否背後的原因。

妨碍華人升級通常是語言及交際兩因素。某些情形下這兩因素是掩飾歧視的說法，但在許多時候是眞正原因。

作爲華裔加人，你怎樣能夠將歧視撥反歸正？我們每個人都是華人社區的外使，因爲作爲有色的少數民族，我們的行爲，都會被我們所接觸的人視作爲代表華人的。我們每一個人都有責任設法建樹一個榜樣，建立一道與其他民族互相瞭解的橋樑，不然的話我們對別人來說始終是一個謎：「不可思議」。

愈來愈多加拿大人接受唐餐與我們飲食的習慣，但他們懂得中國家庭的人際關係嗎？你們有沒有人花些時間解釋爲什麼華人處事的方式有時不同？若我們說「他們弄不明白的」而不設法澄清，他們永不會明白。被誤解的言行有反面的含義。讓我們以積極的行動去摧毀這餘下的障碍，讓大家多點認識我們。

歧視與偏見

雷・李

「他們來了。用不同的語言，說着同一內容的話，說出了人類共有的心聲。」法蘭克・羅斯福在做美國總統時如是說。今日這句話對加拿大來說同樣適用。

因爲種族、語言及文化上的差異，很多成見及假話出現，造成歧見及偏見。我會講述一下自己對加拿大華人在找尋工作及升遷方面受到歧視或不公待遇的看法。

直至一九四七年，在加拿大的華人所受的待遇，用任何標準來衡量，都是可恥的，三十年前整個加拿大的人都不理會華人，又因爲語言和文化上的差異，華人被認爲是不可理喻的。由於當時華人沉默寡言，引起多數加拿大人謹愼防範華人的心理。對華人缺乏認識造成的誤解或惡意曲解，充斥在書籍或電影中。公衆媒介的中傷往往被其引發的精神上或肉體上的虐待所遮掩。

其後加拿大正如其他國家一樣能稍注意人權問題。在一九六五年，有關中國人的移民法律放寬了，但新法例實施起來，祇有受過良好教育的或社會地位相當高經濟環境頗富裕的華人才被接納爲移民。造成「高等華人」的新移民。至於大部份移民或甚至在加拿大出生而未「英化」的華人，找工作是個大問題。當公開的歧視不合潮流時，類似「你有加拿大的經驗嗎？」的問題應運而生，我聽說一個來自香港剛抵達加拿大的移民找工作，當他回答是前晚抵境而以前從未來過加拿大後，下一個問他的問題是「你有加拿大的經驗嗎？」

我仍記得十四年前的一件事。我到一間大型的人壽保險公司申請做內部總查帳的助理。我的「李」姓亦沒有引起問題，因爲有許多種族的人都叫「李」的。工作介紹處接受通知說該公司急於召見我，但當人事部主任見了我，他的臉部表情是「奇哉、怪也」。我在無意中聽見他對那位要接見我的人說：「好傢伙，是個中國人。」直到今日我仍然等着要見該公司的內部查帳總管。這是我一生中唯一的經驗。

綜合我所研究的個案，求職被拒絕時所遇上的藉口有：空缺已被遞補（實質上沒有遞補），你沒有加拿大的經驗，你的資歷超過我們所要求的，我們有好幾位申請人，以後我們會與你聯絡（但從來沒有）。

洛娜・麥當奴在日內瓦帶頭猛烈抨擊越南政府，但越南政府以內政不受干涉爲由對國際所施的壓力置若罔聞。

又有些人恐怕難民在加拿大找不到工作。「在人浮於事的時候，我們爲什麼還讓各式各樣的新移民入境呢？」根據以往的歷史和經驗，新移民大部份接受最繁重最低薪的而最多空缺的工作。自「救生繩」成立以來，我們亦設立了職業介紹所，在一個月內，我們單在多市已接到千個以上的職位空缺。

另一種普遍的說法是：行善應由自家開始，能自助方能助人。舉例說，前晚我接受一個大學合作社的邀請，講解「救生繩」的工作。該合作社正考慮在八百名學生所付的租金中撥出一千元作爲贊助難民的經費。當晚有一位女學生堅決地反對一面加租而一面將公款捐給難民。雖然每人祇費一元二角五，她仍抱怨將她的租金動用了。

那麼，贊助難民入境的是那些人？大致有一半以上是教會或由教會組織的團體，其它一半是由熱心人士聚在一起而形成的小組，包括服務小組，專業聯會，鄰里朋友等。

不同的宗教組織以不同的理由來支持這次行動。基督徒支持的理由是道義所驅使，猶太人在支援難民行動上起了帶頭的作用，他們強調目前越南人的處境與二次大戰時猶太人的情況相似：當時猶太人亦四處飄泊，由於許多國家不願接納他們，結果被逼回到德國，遭到關進集中營的命運。

小型的團體亦十分活躍，多倫多的日裔社區担保了二十家左右。他們以人道主義爲出發點，亦聯想到以往的類似情況－大戰後離開集中營重新定居。

至於華人社區，他們爲難民做出什麼呢？每星期至少有一個人這樣問我。「爲什麼他們不多出點力？須知道，百份之八十五的難民原是中國人嘛。」

我想就華人社區的反應簡單地說幾句話。在我們的組織裏，參與的華人很少，且都是年齡在二十至三十之間的年輕一代。他們的參與有各種不同的原因。許多認爲自己是中國人因而義不容辭。奇怪的是，他們住在遠離唐人街的地方，因此可能祇是基於人道主義爲主。在這次贊助印支難民的行動中，華人社區是否足夠地承担起領導作用？

「救生繩行動」

溫黛・亞茨蔘

「救生繩行動」是個由社會上有心人士組成的志願團體，目的在救助來自東南亞的難民。

政府現行的移民政策允許私人贊助來加；條件是每贊助一個難民最少要有五位人士願意在經濟和道義上全力支持，包括供食宿及介紹工作等義務。

在一九七九年七月，政府允許入境的人數增至八千，其中四千人按計劃由私人贊助。在這段時期內，「救生繩」和全國很多組織已準備就緒，願意贊助這批難民。七月中旬，就業及移民局局長朗・艾基宣佈，政府將依配額原則放寬入境限額，並表示，除了原定的八千名，願意另外贊助二萬一千人，祇要私人團體能贊助同樣數目的難民，即在總額上增至五萬。

在七九年九月下旬，私人贊助的難民已超過了二萬一千人。我們的目的已達到，那末，「救生繩」和其它類似的團體還起什麼作用呢？

我們目前最大的任務是民衆教育。難民如何被社會接納是由大部份民衆決定，因此，設法了解他們的意見是非常重要的。去年春，在政府決定接納五千名難民時，民意測驗指出大部份人認爲五千人太多了，但在部長朗・艾基宣告把限額增至五萬後，民意測驗的結果與前次相反，反對者由百份之五十二降爲百份之三十七。顯然，大衆媒介起了改變反對者態度的作用。但仍有三份一仍抱反對態度。他們爲什麼反對？究竟他們是那些人？

六月十六日地球郵報的周末雜誌刊出了一項民意測驗結果，指出反對增加「易於辨認的少數民族」的人多數是生活在農村、教育程度未及中學、和年薪在一萬元以下的中下階層人士。似乎，反對態度與低薪，少教育，以及少與少數民族接觸有關。

同時，一個自稱爲全國公民聯盟的組織費了一萬元以上的經費在地球郵報刊登了一整頁的廣告，反對把難民限額增至五萬。這羣人代表富商財團的勢力。

另有些反對者的理由牽涉到國際問題。這批人以爲向越南政府施壓力才是對症下藥的有效方法。外交部部長科

在法國，我目前進行研究的地方，兒童可以觀察老年人退休後的日常生活。他們在星期三下午參加各中心爲老年人所預備的活動，例如請老年人講民間故事。老年人的智慧及見識使學童們自然而然地肅然起敬。

我想不通爲什麼加拿大不能善用老人，舉例言之，我們可以從祇講中文的麥克太太處學到許多有關她的早期生活和她在中國的城鄉，即使通過翻譯，我相信我們可以從這位八十六歲的老太太學懂許多東西。

轉到第二個問題：對衰老我們要做些什麼。身爲亞裔加人社區的一份子，我們必能建立橋樑，打通東西方對年邁及照顧長者看法上的鴻溝。很幸運，我們可以自由地在兩者中取其所長。我們能將此運用在多元文化社會上，若果我們不把老年人依民族背景分隔開來的話。像我們那樣的多元文化社會，教育一學習其他人的文化一是一個沒有止境的過程。我們能夠爲一些老年的少數民族份子將他們的文化傳給其他完全沒有機會學習的人製造方便。我再次想起在韋蘭納夫的經驗：在今年九月初，老年人計劃下一個活動是研究提綫木偶。起初，這似乎是沉悶的工作，然而，這項計劃涉入選擇去取，使每個人都有機會貢獻一些東西：各國傳統劇的木偶都涉及了。我們不必祇對木偶感興趣，許多日本的或中國的藝術作品都可以介紹給加拿大的老年人，例如書法是保持手指運用自如的方法，可以作爲肌肉的物理治療。簡言之，無拘無束的來往產生一個重要的學習環境，那些尚年輕的可以建立一種社交場合促進互相交流文化互相學習的精神。

第三個問題與第四個問題在一起討論。我們北美的降職、沒落、失業、作廢、對死亡的恐懼等等必須重新論述，使我們對退休後生活的展望更樂觀。老邁並不等於沒落或降職。正如菲利相教授在他的「以哲學方式處理耆老學」一文中所強調的，年老必須視作爲「文化與精神的，而不是生理的過程，亦是賦有增進知識、經驗、智慧的機會，即是認識世界與保持自我的過程，一個提高社會地位與權威性的過程。」我們的任務是爲實踐這種想法提供機會。身爲亞裔加人，我們的東方哲學思想應該可以用在彌補東西方對年邁及退休看法上的分歧。

少數民族的老年人

目前，我在法國的格蘭諾勃 (Grenoble) 做一些研究，在那裏，有個叫韋蘭納夫（ La Villeneuve ）的社區正推行着老年人與青少年結合的計劃。當地的老年人都屬少數民族，除了有意大利人、德國人、瑞士人等歐洲民族外，另有阿爾及利亞人，突尼西亞人，西班牙人，越南人等等。我對這個多元文化的社區感到莫大的興趣，因爲我相信可以將觀察這社區所得應用在我們安省這個多元文化社會裏。

我所講述的是法國格蘭諾勃社會科學大學老邁研究中心的主任米歇·菲利柏教授細心鑽研過的一些問題。菲利柏教授認爲對待衰老的哲學無非是應付以下一組相關的問題：

1 對衰老我們可以知道些什麼？

2 對衰老我們要做些什麼？

3 對衰老我們希望什麼？

4 對衰老我們預期什麼？

格蘭諾勃大學的社會系與哲學系結合起來，情形跟加拿大的大學不同。他們強調用多門學問結合的方式來觀察社會，研究老年人係由一組包括醫藥、耆老學、社會工作、法科、行政管理、再生學、地理、經濟、政治等等學科的專家。

對衰老可以知道些什麼？以我看來，這個問題是研究衰老這門中可以漸漸弄通的地方。基本上，我認爲東西方對生命的看法及生命本質上的不同是我們想知道衰老在我們多元文化社會的最重要的研究範圍。

北美的人一旦到了六十五歲這個「奇蹟」之年，就會有被「推卸」的危險，「推卸」的過程正表現我們「水廁心理」的特色－即是，凡是我們認爲不合口味的或沒有吸引力的，一概掉在水廁中冲掉。難道我們對少數民族的老年人不是一樣地把他們掉開？誠然，我們爲他們預備一些活動讓他們打發時日，但多少年長者的智慧，豐富的學問與經驗得到利用呢？

今天，許多人已遷離唐人街物質上的貧瘠，我們必須脫離孤立的、自我封閉式的精神上的貧瘠。有一廣告說：「乖乖，你的來頭眞不簡單。」我會加上一句：「你還可以更進一步呢。」

素來注重教育和訓練，因此有充裕的知識技能。

作爲華人婦女帶來了許多特殊機會及優先權，但我們不能否認目前問題的存在，以及今後會有更嚴重的問題。

社會上有股更大的壓力值得我們深思。

1 經濟景象慘淡。工作競爭更形激烈，而男人往往被認爲是「贏得麵包的勝利者」，因此，開放給予婦女的機會減少了。

2 作爲華人，我們知道受歧視和欺侮的一些史實。今日我們聽見不少新的種族主義逆流，這股逆流部份係由經濟造成，部份係由於非白種移民的大量入境產生的反動。我們目睹巴基斯坦人，西印度人，以及最近的東南亞難民的問題，我們又看到CTV播映的關於外國學生的問題。

無可置疑，新的種族主義已發動了，我們應怎樣辦？

作爲一個華人婦女，我覺得要做的很多。

在傳統上婦女以服從爲美德，然而今日在加拿大有許多華人婦女成爲領導和發言人的顯著例子。華人婦女是脚踏實地的，不胡說的現實主義者，我們當然可以繼續大聲疾呼來申述華人社區的立場。

我們須在專業的圈子中活動，如律師公會，醫生協會，發行網，教師工會等等。對於種族歧視或性歧視，我們要態度強硬。

順便一提，這個會議主要是針對華人面臨的種族歧視。但是當巴基斯坦人或黑人需要支持的時候，華人的團體去了那裏？難道我們祇對抗危害及我們的種族歧視嗎？這反映了我們是最顧及自己的社區，我們的人道精神去了那裏？

作爲婦女，我們可在政界上謀一席位。加拿大在政壇上缺少婦女的代表，是可耻的，而華人婦女在政壇上簡直不存在。我們須要有個能走出社區圈子的婦女代表。

華人素來不是「滋事者」，大概現在是時候了。

作爲華裔加拿大人，我們是出世時偶然而然的－是福氣，然而我們亦可以有極大的影響力。

挑戰

露意絲・勞

加拿大華人婦女的歷史並非沒有悲劇或危殆。

作爲一個民族，華人曾盡心盡意地投入加拿大的建國夢想－建造了跨洲鐵路，但這並不擔保我們能公平地分享夢想所實現的成果。事實上，這次大會的演說提醒了我們中國人仍未獲得平等地位。在我們震驚於最近發生的種族歧視之前，容許我花數分鐘做「魔鬼的辯護士」。

今天，我們可能仍有煩惱，恐懼，但不要忘記，我們已經跋涉過漫長的路。我是華裔加拿大人，我不算得是社會學家或歷史學家，所以祇說說自己的經歷和經驗。對我來說，同時作爲華人和婦女，是雙重的福氣。

我們有個歷史悠久而值得自豪的傳統，中國人是仇外懼外的－我們的歷史與文化造成了優越感。是反面種族主義？可能罷。我從小就學了這點。但作爲少數民族的一份子，我沒有因而感到歉意，或喪失安全感。

最近我又被提醒了這點－一位在CTV的W-5節目工作的職員在播放了那臭名昭彰的關於外國學生的節目後評論員接獲的一些電話：許多投訴者是東方學生－大都不論事實，一味抗議－「若我們控制了這些學院，是因爲我們較優秀！」她竟駭於這種種族主義的話，我認爲這種情況與我說的相符！

我們作爲移民亦因西方人士對待我們的態度和神秘感而提高了自我評價－我們刻苦耐勞，奉公守法，既不是罪犯，又不是寄生蟲，更不是滋事份子。大部份加拿大人尊重中國人，因爲他們對毛氏中國的興趣－我們亦沾光不少。對我來說，作爲中國人是光彩的，是與生俱來的額外好處。

不僅是華人，我生下來還是女性。隨着國際婦女年及進展緩慢而平穩的婦權運動，我作爲今日的婦女享有空前的良機，當然，我們要扣去一部份口是心非的和反動的阻力。然而，環顧我們的四週：婦女加入工作行列的數目是史無前例的，年輕婦女到處找尋長期性工作，而不是待嫁前消磨時間，年紀較大的亦重返工作行列。作爲華人的職業婦女，我感到有特殊的地方。

華人享有工作勤奮、刻苦、忠心、盡責等美譽。毫無疑問，是文化背景造成我們僱員模範的形象，而且，我們

的妓女常被警察緝捕。至於家庭婦女亦過着孤寂的日子，即使偶然探望鄰居亦要坐在封閉好的車廂內，至於在家裏或宗親會中的活動祇是按丈夫的吩咐準備飲食，其他的活動是傳統性的，例如家務，生兒育女，積蓄財物。

然而，在排華的時期中，情形亦起了不可忽視的變化。男女的比例小了一因爲不斷有女性出生，而回中國的男性沒有新移民來代替。在一九三〇年，美國境內的華人女性有三份之二是土生的，這些女性與其他婦女接觸日多，有了新的需求，放棄了許多傳統的道德標準。

在一九四三年的美國及一九四七年的加拿大撤銷排華法案後，因爲不限於公民的家屬才能入境，女性的人口更形增加。因爲入籍不易，很少華人成爲公民，例如一九三一年在加拿大祇有 5.27% 的華人是公民。現在許多華人入籍，目的是讓妻兒來加，獨身的回中國娶一個思想尚未洋化的女子。結果，戰後那段時期，許多婦女須在一個異國的新環境中適從陌生人一新婚或久別的丈夫。

這裏我們進入了社會學的範疇，用社會學的觀點來看華人婦女仍留在未曾發展的階段。一九五二年，盎·戴維遜在她那題爲「隨着最近移民法例的更改及公民的親屬獲准入境後多倫多中國家庭生活方式的要素分析」的碩士論文中指出，在中國出生的婦女和她們的母系一樣，與加拿大生活的主流脫離，囿於華人的圈子中。在訪問過的四十位婦女中，有廿三位沒有賺錢，十三位做家庭手工業，此外，有廿三位從未去過非華人聚居的地方，然而，多了這些婦女的確加強了中國家庭組織，亦提供了今後同化的基礎。到此，我以如下的一項觀察作總結：在排華法案廢除後的幾年內的動態大部份亦在今日重演。

北美華人婦女的歷史

泰莉・花露華

要剖析北美華人婦女史，我們常面臨資料不足的問題。如同研究華人社區早期歷史的任何一方面一樣，研究婦女史不得不依賴於一些冷眼旁觀的或出於好奇心的第三者的資料。由於早期華人大部份是勞工，很少人有時間、能力或興致紀錄生活中發生的事。祇有在最近多元文化政策下，由華人自己做的一些較完整的紀錄，才被認爲有價值，撥出經費由學術界搜集與分析。目前我們的問題更形嚴重，因爲我們研究的對象是華人婦女，而華人婦女正如其他婦女一樣不入歷史學家的法眼。雖然如此，我仍儘法向大家介紹一些早期的北美華人婦女的概況。

首批抵達北美的三個華人當中，有一個是作爲傳教士的傭僕的女性。早期華人移民中，極少數是婦女。由於習俗和經濟上的因素，已婚男子至北美須得留下妻兒在中國。因爲他們祇打算在北美短暫逗留，待積聚夠了財物之後衣錦榮歸，所以沒有帶妻兒來。若他們逗留太久（情形往往如此），作爲一個好丈夫就得回鄉省親。至於兒女，祇有男性才考慮到移民的可能，因爲他們在經濟上可以作爲父親的助手。美國的社會學家露絲・李含形容當時的情形・・「華人傾向於帶兒子而不帶女兒來，不僅考慮到經費上的問題，而且女兒留在家可以陪伴母親・婦女較少機會移民來美的原因是中國社會習俗勢力的阻礙（女子應安於家室）的及在海外找工作不易。」即使沒有經濟和習俗的因素，暴力排華事件日增的北美，亦非適於帶家人來同住的地方。

隨着一九〇四年美國通過的及一九二三年加拿大通過的排華法案，習以爲常的歧視行爲得到了法律的支撐，以後祇允許商賈及其家眷入境。當加拿大通過排華法案之際，男性與女性之比是四十七對一，在此法案實施後十七年內，祇有六名中國人移民至加，因此男女的比率沒有顯著的改變。因爲華人若返中國就不能再次入境，而且旅費之重亦不容許他們來去自如，所以男子被迫與妻兒分離。未婚的男子仍保持獨身，因爲未嫁的華人女性太少，而通婚又不容於社會，甚至在美國許多州內是被認爲非法的。這種情形，李氏稱之爲「寄寓文化」。

在排華法案施行期間，北美的華婦可分爲主婦與妓女兩類。妓女多數是年輕的女子在本國被拐騙、販賣，然後被非法偷運入境，她們的處境悲慘，沒法逃出虎口。當時，幫會爲了爭奪妓女而常引起械鬬，一些逃避到基督徒處

區域設計作爲專業：一些體會

馬思恩

「設計」是從地理環境的角度來觀察社會實況的方式。在省政府的範疇內，「設計」是地方性或區域性的研究，以及將研究所得轉化爲實施的計劃和方針。

因此，「設計」可以分爲技術性的及行政性的兩個層面。技術層面是地區的經濟研究，其主要目標是：認出該地經濟成長所存有的問題。

行政層面是將技術研究得出的結果轉化爲將實施的政策和計劃，這部份係由政府、私人機構和社區三者交涉，洽商，然後作出決定。

整個「設計」是個費時而艱鉅的過程，區域設計人員所作的不過是個小脚色。

職位的昇遷和「設計」過程是相輔並行的。職員可以從技術性的職位遷至領導層，負責監督、決策等工作。

要成爲一個成功的設計人員，須有以下各項質素：

- 技術上勝任
- 流暢的語言運用能力
- 人際關係
- 組織條理
- 創造力、積極性、伸縮性
- 在壓力下工作的能耐

華裔女性設計人員在升遷上所受最大的阻礙可推成見和語言表達能力。

·母語計劃

陶樂地·程

華語課程有三個目的：一.提供學生學習運用中文的機會，使他們能與父母或祖父母易於溝通。二.介紹中國文化給學生，使他們明白中國文化之下或加拿大文化之下家庭生活的異同。三.幫助學生建立自信及個性，使學生對加拿大文化及中國文化均有信心，知道不同背景的人，特別是中國人，對加拿大社會的貢獻。

爲了達到以上目的，我們提供「聽、講、讀、寫」平衡發展的課程。一些帶文化氣息的內容，例如民歌，民族舞蹈，節目傳說，民間故事，偉人傳記，習字，藝術，手工等等應放入課程內。爲了使課程內容更豐富，我們邀請了專家一例如音樂家、教育家、藝術家等，到課室中表演或演講。

柯頓學校接受華語教育的學生共一百四十六名，其中百份之四十七點二未曾接受過中文教育，有百份之廿六點七的學生有一年或兩年的中文基礎，百份之十點二有三年至六年中文的學歷。其餘百份之十五點七不是華人子弟。

由此可見每班都有背景不同的學生，正因爲學生質素的參差不齊，每一班裏都要依程度不同而分組。講、讀、寫的能力是分組的標準，年紀也是一個重要的因素。往往在一班內我們要教程度不同的三組學生。

由於同一班學生程度的差等，教材編排和講授均須特別認眞，才能使教學順利進行。以下是教學上的一些方法我們準備了不同程度的課程及輔導活動，在三組中輪流地進行，使教師不至於僅與一組學生作口語練習。

另一方法是用電影或照片來引起學生討論的興趣。舉例言之，我正準備教導孩子有關冬天、雪等等的詞彙，我打算放映一部叫「冬日之林」的電影，之後，全班用口語來討論這部電影的內容，鼓勵每個孩子用中文來自由地表達。

整個來說，教學程序是依照平時課程計劃的進度平行地推進，使學生不致於感到在華語課程中一切要重新學的額外負担。

影響了社會整體。

3 正是此問題啓引我要說的最後一點，但我仍難於直說，還得再借用以上節錄的第三段文字作爲開端：「我會教他們對自己的國家－加拿大－的強烈責任感。但我不限他們僅止於說英文，我亦教他們中文。」

我認爲作者說得對。在這環境裏，英文是令我們各機構部門發揮作用的主要語言。我認爲，「生與長於加拿大，須識得英、法兩種官方語言中至少一種，以便建立橋樑，互相溝通，滅除「軍營意識」，使人們能夠在建立一個強有力的社會的同時亦保存自己的傳統。在多倫多，英文是目前主要語言媒介，我認爲以後亦然，特別是對青年來說。

文化傳統，及以中文來保存文化傳統的機會，是我所欣羨的，我們助長了此機會，亦是我所樂道。最後，借用你們會議的宣言結束我的話，同時我想加上一點補充：

「由於我們社區都是加拿大整個社會中的小天地，我們深信，我們的努力會在加拿大人中間滋養出團結與和諧，因而使全加拿大得益。」

形容的香港不同，但是，我可以講－雖然是誇張些－「在加拿大我們其實並沒有一個國家，我們既不屬美國，也不是英國或法國的一部份。」我們現在－比我以往半生中任何時刻更致力－致力於建立加拿大精神：我們建立的各行政機構，須反映極度分化的個別份子，在這現狀下，我們惟有一起努力，促進瞭解，互相尊重。

我們必須將目標提高。在第一段文字中，這位青少年說出了我們想說而常常不敢說的話：「我不（敢）想及將來，因爲我怕自己將目標放得太高，達不到。」依我看，我們毫無選擇的餘地。我們必須將目標提高，並一定要向這目標努力。

2 爲此，我們一定要避免傅勒（加拿大最深刻的思想家之一）所描述的「軍營意識」。在他的散文集「灌木園」一書中，他構想了未來加拿大社會的狀況如下：

「．．．由自然環境或心理（邊界）環繞起來的孤立的、小型的社區，互相隔離，脫開了英國或美國的文化根源：這些社區向它的成員提供了一套特有的價值系統，並以法律及社會秩序來規限他們，但仍免不了要面對一龐大的，具威脅性的，不可理喻的四周環境的壓力－這種社區必然產生一種思想意識，可以暫時稱之爲軍營意識。．．．「軍營是一個內部緊密而對外孤立的社會，它的社會價值及道德標準是不容置疑的；在執行一件會導致自身覆滅的計劃中，任何人都不能談論其目標與動機：每個人不是戰士，就是逃兵。．．．

「對這種社會來說，共同的敵人並不引起恐慌，．．眞正的恐慌是個人想恢復自我、脫離羣體、．．．軍營是很容易大量產生的；在此時，一種反文明的意識會在加拿大滋長，人們不能有所創新。加拿大城鎭所具有的強烈的地域性，是一個例子。分離主義，無論是英式的或法式的，是文明上最缺乏孕育能力的教條。」

有人頭腦簡單地說及「中國人所投的票」或「希臘人所投的票」，正是我所怕的「軍營意識」，即是將一羣人當作是內部緊密維繫的封閉社會，與整體脫節的「軍營」或「貧民窟」。某個以某種語言爲表徵的羣體聚居在一處時，特別是若果他們的外貌有顯著的特徵的話，這種危險性亦愈嚴重。請不要誤會我的意思，我並非說語言上一致的人羣不該住近一塊互相幫助互相瞭解，爲他們獨特的需要而提供服務，我感到這羣人一定要想法子跟整個社會溝通，常常接觸外界，他們一定要明白在政治或社會層面上須參與其事，明白許多問題不僅影響他們的「軍營」，也

片清晰可辨，且有可能引起抵觸摩擦與嫉恨仇視。最近加拿大的國策是鼓勵不同的羣體保留他們自己的文化傳統，例如保留自己傳統語言、文化活動及節日風俗等等。在安省，特別是在多市，母語班在政府的支持下普遍設立，並擴展到中小學的課程內。

從某種意義來說，我們提出的方向是大膽的。考慮到我們國家幅員之廣，人口之分散，許多人認爲這種發展會威脅到全國團結，令國家支離破碎；想到魁北克省的情況，這種憂慮更加深了。

但我不同意這種看法。我感到，我們這樣做，是忠實地推行一套新的人際關係，容納各式各樣的文化，建立大家共同珍重的價值感。

會議的焦點是關於青年。聽取一下幾位新到加拿大的華人青少年說的話，有助於問題的探討。以下三段文字摘自這些「新加拿大」學生合編的題爲「未來之想」的書。

「我從未想過自己的將來。我祇想在考試中取得高分。我不敢想及將來，因爲我怕自己將目標放得太高，達不到。之後我會感到不開心，不滿與失意。我的人生觀是：聽天由命。」

「雖然我有返香港的機會，但我不打算這樣做。我決定在這塊新的國土上建立新生活，讓我的子孫也接受加拿大的教育。將來，我結了婚之後，生下的子女都成爲華裔加人。許多上了年紀的中國人不喜歡「華裔加人」，因爲這些「華裔加人」的母語不是中文，而是英文，我希望我的子女仍記得母語，我教他們兩種語言：英與中。」

「加拿大充滿了自由與快樂，沒有政治壓力。香港則不算得一個國家，它不屬於中國，亦不屬於英國。亦不屬於英國。我現在有了一個國家，感到幸運。我深信自己會一直住下去，讓我的子女成爲加拿大的良好公民。我會教他們對自己的國家－加拿大－的強烈責任感。但我不限他們僅止於說英文，我亦教他們中文。因爲他們到底是中國人，身爲中國人不懂得中文是可耻的。」

現在我想講一下由以上文字所引發的三點想法，讓大家評評。

1 一個人抵達一塊新的國土上，會假定這個家有一個明確的精神及清晰的目的。當我反覆思考這個假定時，我感到不太清晰了。像「尋索加拿大精神」這類書在我們國家的歷史中屢見不鮮。當然，我們跟以上節錄的文字所

生與長於加拿大

鄧肯・格林

這次會議的主題是「生與長於加拿大」－這我可以講，至於「華人的展望」－則非我所能道。我在多倫多出世；除了二次大戰期間離境外，一生在此渡過；我的祖父母在今世紀初由蘇格蘭移民過來，抵達這個以盎格魯・薩克遜民族爲主的國家後，更感到難以適從，他們的「歸屬」儘與其他人不同。

當我在此長大時，大家認爲：英帝國將長期統治，其他人會同化於盎格魯・薩克遜的民風；凡不屬於該族後裔的，讓他們嚐到了加拿大冬天的滋味，就是莫大的恩賜了。

仍是個孩子的時候，我識得的中國人祇有兩家，一家在我住的那條街轉角開洗衣店，另一家在布洛街開餐館。我知道有一個所謂「中國城」的地方，藏在一個隱秘的處所，充滿了形形式式新奇的活動，我不知道在一九三八年管制華人移民的限額，也不知道中國男子漢想接家人來團聚所遭的困難。當然，我們這班在經濟大恐慌背景長大的孩子常聽見大人頻頻叮囑：我們比那些「在中國飢餓的孩子」幸福萬倍。這就是我們在三十年代至五十年代對中國的唯一印象，即充滿災荒與禍患的印象。

祇具有這個膚淺無知的認識，教我如何講「華人的展望」呢？然而，我可以講講「生與長於加拿大」。

多市的華人人口由一九四一年的二千人至一九七九年增至九萬人，這個數量引起了視覺上的變化－請看：中文路牌，登打街與史畢丹拿街的唐人店舖。現在我們留意到：華人並不是同一個地方來的，有來自中國大陸，有來自香港，來自台灣，來自韓國，來自越南；我們留意到在說華語的人當中彼此有異，正如說英語的人亦然。同時，我們留意到他們在政治上可以形成一股實力，特別是由於他們有聚居的傾向。你們在人數上的增加迫使我們重新檢討一下過往對待你們的態度。

任何「逼使」都可能引起不滿的情緒。很多人認爲任何羣體都不該聚居在「貧民窟」中，不該保留母語與發行「圈內」的報紙，不該鋪張地慶祝自己的節日，或大肆宣揚那些「異邦的」宗教或信念。

經過重新的檢討，我們試圖放更多的血肉在一副大家稱作「文化鑲嵌圖」(或意譯「文化百態圖」)的骨架上。我們留意到美國所謂「大熔爐」並非一種勻貼得像乳湯一樣的混合物，而是雜錦湯－其中代表不同文化傳統的肉塊菜

喬加人－即讀者們的東西。

我們須更多誠心誠意的人負起領導的工作。正如在馬來亞的情形一樣，我們的領袖可能會被政府利用，但在原則上，我並不反對華人與其他的領袖合作，我們應該向省政府或聯邦政府薦出更多像劉光英那一類的政治代表，但我們的代表須時刻地記得：他們之所以有此崇高的地位，完全是華人社區之賜，所以他們應該以社區的利益爲依歸，不能將個人的利益置在其上。（下略）

或是作爲中國近況喉舌的民族主義者。

弄明白我們自己的身份及歸屬可以解決一些影響及我們內部團結的問題。若華裔加人的社區不能同時爲海外華僑的社區，那末，中國的內政就不該在此佔一席位－中國內部鬥爭殃及華人社區實在太久了。當然，這裏我指中國沿台灣海峽的分裂，卽中國共產黨與國民黨之間的衝突。不難了解到兩者衝突之烈，以及實際上我們每個人直接或間接與過去這筆舊帳拉上了關係的原因。且有許多人對解決衝突的方式仍抱有強烈的主見；但現在我們要告訴自己：對加拿大來說這是件外間的事，作爲一個致力於建立我們歸屬感與地位的少數民族，我們不能讓它妨碍團結。

關於這點，我要用最強硬的措辭反對一些華裔羣體在多元文化的場合上盲目地跟隨其他團體搖起五星紅旗或青天白日旗。這種行爲引起分化－不僅是因爲將中國的政治衝突帶入我們之間，亦是因爲忽視了其他許多華裔與中國並無瓜葛的事實。若果認爲這些羣體可以組成一個集團搖旗吶喊，那末我們這個力量微薄的社區更支離破碎了。我們在慶祝加拿大節日之際，搖起別國的旗號，有什麼意思呢？

除了一些來自中國及港澳的華人外，另有一些來自馬來亞、星加坡、泰國、印尼、越南、東非、南非、印度、西印度羣島等地的華人。他們大部份不懂得中文。由於他們長年接觸的不是華人，因此很容易適應於加拿大的環境。但其中有許多人在原居地備受凌辱或不公的待遇，因此部份人不願與華人有任何來往，以免勾起以往痛苦的回憶，部份人則亟欲與華人在一起，促進華人共同的利益。我們希望別人公正地對待我們，我們亦應同樣地對待華人同胞。由於無知與偏見在我們之中仍普徧地存在，我感到須要不斷地提醒自己這個重要的原則。我常常因爲一些來自台灣的華人驚異於我能講流利的普通話或一些來自香港的當我以英語告以識中文時對着我用一連串的廣東話像機鎗一樣掃射過來而感到煩惱。

我們常常要自我教育，正如我們要教育其他加拿大人關於我們一樣。我想就華人辦的報業談談這點。以我們社區的規模能發行半打以上的報紙可說是一項了不起的成就。但仔細地分析一下，就發覺加拿大華人社區的消息很少出現－除非將連篇累牘的餐館廣告計算在內，取而代之的是香港影星的「愛情波折」，「祖國新貌」、「匪區的恐怖內幕」等。我們都知道這些報紙的內容不以加拿大的現實爲主，我們可以施加壓力，使它們報導多些關於我們華

正義，理直氣壯地力爭。我們與兄弟民族密切合作，大家可以分享這種有益的經驗。

另一個使我們較爲受尊敬的原因是，不論是加人與否，或多或少當我們是愛好和平的一羣，從而好意對待我們，當然，我們亦以好意回敬，照說，關係該改進了，但一些懷有不良動機的人喜歡曲解這種愛和平的民族性，說，中國人既不喜歡干預別人，亦不喜歡別人干預；當這說法暗示華人不問政治的時候，我會感到不安。散播這說法是分化之策，與另一些因素結合起來（例如華人社區的特點），造成華人社區中一種「寄人籬下」的心理，此類心理表現在政治與文化上與其他社區格格不入，使用意不良的人有了把柄，暗示華人是中國的第五縱隊。我們必須認識自己在這個國家有合法的地位，決心在此立足生根，我們必須建立一個清晰的歸屬感，明確自己與中國的關係。我這番話特別是對一些自認是中國人，自稱旅加海外華僑而保持其在加居留地的人說的。至於我們那些認爲與日常生活接觸的鄰居在政治上或文化上打交道更爲有意義的，會異口同聲地稱自己是加拿大人，敢作敢爲地投入加拿大社會，與其他的加拿大在一起，爲自己創立一個公平和合理的處身之地。

隨着極端派的垮台，北京政府重新引入清晰的對待華僑與華裔外籍人的方針，使我們易於確立自己與中國的關係。將旅加華僑與華裔加人嚴格地劃分開來，是十分困難的，甚至是不可能的，因爲許多人對中國與加拿大同樣地關懷。對蘇格蘭、法裔、或烏克蘭等人來說，比我們較易做，他們從不會被問及「什麼時候回國」，亦不會有認同上的問題，當一些猶太裔的加拿大人公開鼓吹復國主義之時，誰會懷疑他對加拿大的忠心？因此，單獨是我們華人劃分爲兩種人，似乎是不公平且不必要的，然而，若我們弄清楚自己何去何從何所屬，則可以除去用心不良的人攻擊的口實，使他們難以施其技了。

兩者之間難以抉擇的主因是我們內心深處對中國的崇高敬仰。在近三十年來，由於中國成爲獨立自主的國家，無論住在什麼地方，我們的地位都得到改善。目前中國對實現現代化的努力，以及爲了改善人民生活與進一步對全世界作出貢獻，燃起了我們與九億七千萬人共同生活、共同工作與學習的欲望與夢想。我並不認爲任何人有權反對我們爲中國與加拿大建立良好關係而努力。誠然，正是這種關係構成兩國人民外交及互相瞭解、互相合作的基礎。

但不要把施於或受自中國人民的欲望與實際做法混爲一談－無論是一位作爲不過問中國內政的國際主義者，仰

我們是由移民及公民組成，身份相同的人按法律該享有同等的權利，但在實質上我們是否得到了公平的待遇？我們是否眞正被視作爲加拿大人？對全國公民聯盟及海倫·赫欽臣來說，答案是一個斷然的「不」字。多倫多中國同學會及各大學的學生當然震驚於大衆媒介所表露的種族主義意識。不過，讓我告訴你們一件個人的遭遇，說明偏見與無知是根深蒂固的，即使是心地善良的人亦所難免。

某日傍晚，一個年紀比我稍大的傳教士敲我家的大門。我無意成爲教徒，因此婉拒了他，說實在太多書要看。那位中年人像是猜透我的心事一樣露着笑容，說：「當然，作爲一個外國學生，你要加倍用功嘛。」

可能你沒有機會被一個比你年輕得多的人誤認了，但你確可能有機會遇上一個新搬來的鄰居，在加拿大居住的日子不及你多，却天眞地問你的妻子：你打算在此住多久才回「國」？也許，你的兒子會涕淚縱橫地從學校回來，向你吐苦：波比和朗尼又堅持中國人祇能扮紅番，而那次明明是輪到他當牛仔。也許，大學的辦事人會向你解釋：即使是經費拮據，法文、德文、意大利文等母語班仍須擴展，同時又說：中文班吸引太多華人學生，應刪去，華人子弟主要是學習「加拿大的東西」。

種族主義在加拿大確實太猖獗了。我們必須集結所有的力量去阻止它。目今，反對全國公民聯盟發表排擠東南亞難民的聲明，以及反對 CTV 播映「校園大平賣」所展開的攻勢，予我印象良深，特別是一羣非華裔的教會領袖，教育工作人士，學生領袖，等等，和我們站在一邊。但在奮戰之際，想到我們華裔對一些與己無直接關係的問題不聞不問，令我感到痛心。置身於我們兄弟民族所關懷的事務不僅是爲了互相支持與壯大自己。對不同人羣偏見的輕重是有差異的，稍令我安慰的是：華人並不是被凌辱得最慘的一羣。但歧視始終是歧視，除非是把它完全鏟除；正如將強姦犯禁錮起來一樣，是不過問他喜歡迫害的是那一種。因此，我們華裔須起來對抗種族不公，祇要一旦有此情形發生的話。若是因爲歧視對我們本身比對我們鄰居輕微而噤不作聲，不僅是鴕鳥式的安全，且是最惡劣的政治投機。若這樣做，我們終會分裂，一一被征服。

在反對種族主義的行動中，我們可以作出一項貢獻，即中國七十年來豐富的，甚至令敵人肅然起敬的戰鬥經驗，我們並不靠磕頭或祭起以前一些不見得光彩的法寶來娛樂旁觀者或討好敵人來贏取他們的敬意，而是基於眞理與

作爲一個華裔加人

陳國相教授

首先，我認爲華人聯會採用「華裔加人」而不用「加籍華人」的做法，是值得讚揚的，強調自己是「加人」，再冠以「華裔」兩字以示有別於其他加拿大人是個正確和進步的態度。至於「加籍華人」一詞，則會把我們與其他十億中國人隔開，却又不能賦予我們與每日接觸的二千三百萬個加拿大人建立良好關係的基礎。

作爲華裔加人，我們必須與其他的加拿大人（其中許多人與我們相仿，移民自外地）一起生活，我們必須與這些「同胞」在這塊充滿希望的國土上分担未來的命運，齊心協力，永保「北地」強盛、自由。

全國公民聯盟和他們的幕後支持人不想見到有此合作與分担，他們採取威嚇的策略來破壞這種健全的關係，並提出一個反動的觀念：中國是華裔的老家。這說法完全忽視了我們社會本質上是由移民組成的事實。按這說法的邏輯推論，結果會導致加拿大國家的消失－若中國是華裔的老家，那末英國該是英裔的老家，法國該是法裔的老家，意大利該是意裔的老家，等等。要是土著這樣說，我或許有幾分同情－雖然感到這種論調已過時，但若分明是移民後裔的傢伙說的，就認爲是蓄意荼毒加拿大人思想的企圖了。

CTV 電台海倫．赫欽臣主持的 W-5 節目亦是同樣的可惡。她似乎怕我們年輕的一代對社會有所貢獻，出了煽動觀衆的下策，設法拒華裔子弟於大學門外。我可以肯定說，若那位「號鈴．赫欽臣」知道我的兒子在班中帶領一大羣學生支持克拉克做總理的話，她必然尖聲呼號：加拿大公立學校學生的領導權被一位外國學生奪了。

既然全國公民聯盟和海倫．赫欽臣拒絕面對人類的史實，讓我提醒他們一句：自太初開始，人類不斷地從一地遷至另一地，自一洲徙至另一洲，自古已然，於今尤烈。結果是全國或全球大混合，一些「該在」的人去了，一些「不該在」的人來了，去留紛紜沓雜，沒有定形。

頻繁的遷移流徙，並不造成社會始終處在暫時狀態的情形。稍後，我會申述「立地生根」的人類天性。我的論據很簡單：現在我們不再生活在生、老、病、死俱在一處的農村社會中。在現代社會裏，祇要我們喜歡，隨時隨地可以建立我們的根基。我們不該過問一個人的出生地點或居留此地的久暫，而須視乎這個人的心意是否屬於此地，或對此地可作多少貢獻。

序

趙瑜執筆

表面上，加拿大社區沒有顯著的變化，然而，作爲一個充滿活力與生機的社區，確實在不斷的轉變中，尤其是近十年來正以史無前例的飛速增長與躍進，爲我們加拿大的多元文化本身添上了光和熱。

過去，我們常常回溯自己的歷史，並以加拿大的內涵來反省檢討，但難免仍耽湎在一個孤立的「小我」中。藉着這個會議，我們要抬起頭展望將來，下決心迎接新的挑戰，負起更重更神聖的任務，並向所有人公佈：我們駐足此地，是爲了對加拿大社會的主流獻出一份力量。

時值一九七九年十一月十日及十一日，我們在多倫多約克旅店舉辦一個令人振奮的省級會議。我們徵求年長者的見解及年輕人的夢想，籲請社區團結與行動，向着一個不可破滅的遠景前進。

譯者按：由於篇幅的限制，每篇文章的翻譯均予刪節。刪去的部份大抵是跟主題無關的部份，意思重覆的句子，過長的引文或統計數字等，力求保留原文的精神。同樣基於篇幅的原因，會主席的致辭，唐娜·王及張金儀的講者介紹，萊·麥沫脫的開幕致辭，彼得·軒尼斯的「關於教育經費的一些問題」，達辛·彭地亞的「職業機會的改變」，亞倫·勃拉蕭的「變更」，諾頓的「科技」，載斯·李的「第二代華裔少年」，趙瑜的「瞻望四十以外」，卡·百斯的「政府對印支難民的看法」，卜比·蕭的「印支難民在多倫多的求職狀況」等篇，按編輯的指示，不予翻譯。

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編輯：趙　瑜
方資求
趙美嫦

一九八〇年十月
安省華人聯會出版
大地影印承印

安省華人會議：

「生與長於加拿大」

華裔加人的展望

一九七九年十一月十日及十一日於多倫多

安省加拿大華人聯會

宗旨

1. 促進加拿大華人了解其本身在當地社會裏所起的作用及應盡的責任。
2. 增進加拿大華人彼此間之連繫。
3. 鼓勵各省加拿大華人團體間之交流。
4. 促進加拿大華人與加拿大其他種族間之連繫與了解。
5. 遇大衆切身問題時，擔當安省加拿大華人的代言人。

大會標誌

這是公元前四世紀的一面古銅鏡背面的圖案。在中國的古代傳說中，鏡子代表着人類的靈魂；它不僅反映鏡前人物的形象，且能攝取及保留該人的精神，傳予下一代。

我們選取這面古鏡的圖案作爲大會的標誌，乃希望大會能像古鏡一樣，反映華人社會的現狀，發揮繼往開來，溫故知新的精神，在互相瞭解的和諧氣氛中成長與發展。

安省彩票會支助

安省華人聯會主辦

一九七九年度安省會議

「生與長於加拿大」

華裔加人的展望

會議記錄　滙報　評論